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JOURNAL of the PROCEEDINGS and DEBATES in the
POLITICAL CLUB, continued from Page 489.

*In the Debate upon the Place-Bill, a
Part of which I gave you in my last,
L. Valerius Flaccus stood up, and
spoke in Substance as follows, viz.*

*Mr. President,
S I R,*

I AM very ready to allow, that it is laudable in a free People to be jealous of their Liberties; and to be ready to repel the least Attack that can be made upon them. But I cannot think it very prudent to shew any outward Signs of this Jealousy, without some real and immediate Cause; and when Divisions and Animosities are stirred up amongst a free People, about guarding against an Attack that was never made nor thought of, I shall always be inclined to impute it to any Thing, rather than to a true and disinterested Regard for the publick Good. All Contests about altering or amending our Constitution, especially when they are nursed up, and carried on without Doors, as well as within, I must look on as a political

Sort of Warfare; and, I think, no Sort of War ought ever to be begun, without some real Offence of one Side or other. If the Nation is to be set in a Ferment, about providing against every imaginary Danger that may be suggested by a melancholy and gloomy Disposition, we shall always be so much taken up with providing against imaginary and distant domestick Dangers, that we may probably, some Time or other, overlook, and neglect to provide against a real and imminent foreign Danger; and thus, whilst we are engaged in needless Contests about guarding our Liberties and Properties against the Invasions of one another, we may at last find both left entirely at the Mercy of some foreign Invader.

For this Reason, I am not for endeavouring to be so quick-sighted as some Gentlemen pretend to be, nor shall I ever be for making an Alteration in our Constitution, in order to provide against any Danger it may be exposed to, till that Danger begins to be in some Degree felt, as well as foreseen; and therefore, I think,

think, no Gentleman can expect, that I should agree to the Motion now under our Consideration. Whatever may be our Fate in future Times, I am sure, it cannot be said, that in his present Majesty's Reign, or under the present Administration, the least Attempt has been made upon the Freedom of Parliament, or to gain a corrupt Influence over any Member of this House. If our Parliaments had ever once of late Years, at the Instigation of the Crown, agreed to, or approved of any Thing that look'd like an Incroachment, either upon the Rights and Liberties of the People, or upon the Property of any private Man in the Kingdom, that Agreement or Approbation might have been suspected of proceeding from some corrupt Influence. But as no such Agreement or Approbation has ever been obtained, as no Attempt has been lately made by the Crown to obtain any such, I can see no Reason for the present Motion, or for that Outcry against Corruption, that has been of late so industriously propagated all over the Nation.

Corruption, I know, Sir, like arbitrary Power and wooden Shoes, is a most hideous Word, and I shall grant, that it may be of dangerous Consequence to the Liberties of a free People; but there are two Things that must concur, before it can ever become dangerous, and that is, a general Depravity of Manners among the People, and a wicked Design in those that govern them. If Virtue prevails among the Generality of the People, if they are not generally guided by selfish and corrupt Motives, an ambitious Court can never propose to succeed in their Designs, by Means of Corruption, let their Fund for that Purpose be never so extensive; and if the Govern-
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dangerous in their Hands; but, on the contrary, it may be necessary for preserving the Happiness and Tranquillity of the People; for if the People be generally corrupt, if they be generally guided by selfish and corrupt Motives, their Governors must have wherewithal to satisfy those Views, which with most Men, are their only Motives for Action, otherwise it will be impossible to get a Majority of the People to concur, even in those Measures that are absolutely necessary for their own Preservation.

It is therefore evident, Sir, that those who think we are in any present Danger from Corruption, must be of Opinion, that a general Depravity of Manners has of late crept in among the People of this Kingdom, and that his Majesty, by the Advice of evil Counsellors, has formed Designs against the Liberties of his People; which is an Opinion, that, I hope, is far from being entertained by any Gentleman in this House. Whatever Opinion we may have of the Generality of our Countrymen, I hope no Gentleman thinks, that his Majesty has any Designs against the Liberties of his People, or that he would harbour any such, were it in his Power to carry them into Execution. What are we then to do by the Bill proposed? If a general Depravity of Manners does not prevail, we are, without the least Shadow of Reason, to deprive the People of the Service of those, who, if they are honest, are certainly best able to serve their Country in Parliament; and if a general Depravity of Manners does prevail, we are to deprive his Majesty, who, we are certain, can have no bad Designs, of the only Means he can have for carrying his good Designs into Execution, or, indeed, for answering any one End of Government.

But now, Sir, let me suppose, which,

which, I am sure, there is no Ground for, that a Majority of this House not only think, that the People of this Nation are generally governed by selfish and corrupt Motives, but also, that his Majesty has, by the Advice of evil Counsellors, formed Designs against the Liberties of the People: Even in this Case, can we suppose that this Bill would be a proper Remedy? From Experience we must conclude, that it would have a quite contrary Effect: Like the self-denying Ordinance in *Cromwell's* Time, it would not only facilitate, but hasten that very Consequence it is intended to prevent. The Passing of such a Bill, would be an immediate and infallible Cause of a Division and Contention between the King and his Parliament, which would of Course drive both to Extremes; and as we have supposed both Sides governed by ambitious and selfish Views only, whichever Side prevailed, the Contention would end, as it did in *Cromwell's* Time, in the Establishment of arbitrary Power. Therefore, if there were any present Danger from Corruption, the only Method for providing effectually against it would be, to take proper Measures for restoring the Virtue of the People, and for removing evil Counsellors from the King, both which may be done by Parliament, but can never be done by such a Bill as is now proposed; and therefore, I must be against giving Leave to bring in a Bill, which, I think, can in no Case be of any Service, and which may, probably, be attended with most pernicious Consequences.

The next that spoke in this Debate was C. Sulpicius, the Purport of whose Speech was as follows, viz.

Mr. President,
S I R,

THE Bill now moved for, is of so great Consequence, so ar-

dently desired by the Nation in general, that I cannot satisfy myself with giving a bare Assent to the Motion for bringing it in, and therefore, I must venture upon the hard Task of betraying my own Inability, rather than sit silent in a Debate, whereon, I think, the Freedom and Independency of Parliament, and the very Being of our Constitution depend. A Debate, Sir, which, by its Event, must, in Effect, determine, whether the Commons of *Great Britain* are ever hereafter to be properly represented in this House, whether we are really to be any longer a free People or no.

It would ill become me, Sir, to dare to insinuate the least Reflexion upon any of those Gentlemen who have the Honour to be employed in his Majesty's Service, or to be distinguished by his Royal Favour. Their Rank and their Station claim a due Respect, and I have ever paid them such as becomes a Freeman. As Gentlemen, and as Individuals, I have a great Regard for them; but as Legislators, and as an aggregate Body, I must own, their Numbers, their Power, and their Influence here, may give just Grounds of Jealousy and Apprehension, to every Man that understands the Nature, and admires the Wisdom of our happy Constitution; especially if we should ever happen to see an Union, or Coalition of their several Interests, for their mutual Support, and, as it were, in one common Cause, whenever the State of our Army, or Navy, of our Treasury, or Revenue, or of the Nation in general, shall come under the Consideration of this House.

We justly value ourselves on the Wisdom and Equity of our Laws, for trying the Life, Liberty, and Property of the meanest Subject, by impartial Judges, and disinterested Juries. Shall we be thus careful of the Liberties and Properties of private

vate Men, and take no Care of the Liberties and Properties of the People in general? Shall we remove a Juror, in a Case of private Property, if it appears that he has an Interest in either Side of the Question; and in a Case of publick Property, shall we admit a Majority, or near a Majority of those that are to be Judges, to consist of such as have the whole, or the greatest Part of their Subsistence, depending upon one Side, perhaps the wrong Side, of the Question? Surely, Sir, this great Council, which is entrusted with the Happiness, the Property, and Purse of the Nation, demands, at least, equal Care and Attention: The Guardians of the Laws, Liberties, and publick Interest, ought, above all Men, to be disinterested and independent; free not only from the Imputation, but even from the least Suspicion of any pecuniary Bias whatever. In private Life, it would be absurd to allow any Man to sit as Judge and Jury in his own Cause; and in this House, where our All is at Stake, is it not equally absurd, may it not be destructive?

Sir, there is no Design to turn out of this House, every Gentleman that has a Place or Office under the Crown. By the Bill now moved for, all those who have Places or Offices under the Crown, are to be excluded from having Seats in this House, except such Placemen and Officers as shall be named in the Bill; and when this Exception comes to be filled up, it will appear, that there may still be at least 150 Placemen and Officers in this House, which surely is a Number sufficient for answering all the good Purposes of the Crown; and, I hope, no Gentleman will say, we ought to have such a Number of Placemen and Officers in this House, as may answer those bad Purposes which some future ambitious King, or bad Minister, may happen to have in

View, or may be prompted to have in View, when he considers, that he has such a great Number of Placemen and Officers in this House.

The long and expensive Wars this Nation has been obliged to carry on, for the just Defence of our Religion, our Laws, and our Liberties, have engaged us in immense Debts: These Debts still subsist, and have had this fatal Consequence, that while they have settled the Balance of Power abroad, I fear they have overturned the Balance of Power at home. They have raised a numerous Swarm of Revenue and Excise Officers, and other Tax-Gatherers, who have overspread the Nation like Locusts. It is well known what Influence these Officers and Tax-Gatherers have upon Elections, and I may also say, it is well known, what Use they make of it. They influence our Elections, not only while they live, but also when they die; for many Electors are influenced by the Hopes of succeeding them.

We are again engaged in a just and necessary War, whereby our Fleets are become more numerous, our Land Forces greatly increased, and more and more Levies of Marines every Day made. These Augmentations must throw a new Weight of Power into that Scale, which seems already to be charged beyond its due Proportion, and of Course the Freedom of Parliament, and the Security of our Constitution, will be thereby more endangered, which has raised great Jealousies all over the Nation.

This Bill, Sir, seems to be the only sure Method to allay these Jealousies, and to prevent these Dangers. It is not meant to exclude all Placemen from Parliament: It is meant only to restrain and limit the Number of Placemen, which in future Parliaments may become so great, as to be inconsistent with the

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Freedom of Parliament, or the Preservation of our Constitution. This Effect the Bill will have, if, luckily for us and our Posterity, it be passed into a Law; but this is not the only good Effect it will have. Besides this, it will have many other good Effects: It will not only limit the Number of Placemen in Parliament; but it will also soon lessen their Number, and their Expence in general. If this Bill should be passed, new Places would not be created, many old ones would be abolished, no more Officers would be employed than were absolutely necessary; and, I verily believe, no more would be allowed them than they strictly earned: A small Salary would then satisfy a Clerk in an Office, who might now, perhaps, reject it, as a Member of this House; and Men might well afford to serve for half Pay, who had no Interest to support, and no other Merit necessary for the Post they enjoy, or the Post they aspire to, than the bare Qualification for that, and that alone. They would then become Men of one Calling, and of one Business: They would be more diligent and faithful in the Discharge of their Duty, because they would be more afraid of being called to Account.

The Nation, Sir, grows daily more jealous of its Liberties, and more zealous for the Security of them, by the Success of this Bill; and, therefore, I hope that, at least, so much Deference will be paid to the Voice of the People, as to admit their Representatives fully to debate the Merits of this important Cause. The Voice of the People is well worthy the Attention, the serious Attention of a wise Legislature: It is a Voice that first or last will be heard, and will have its Effect: It is a Voice that is not to be silenced, that is not to be smothered, much less to be rejected with Contempt.

Therefore, Sir, in Duty to his

Majesty, that he may reign happy in the Hearts, in the Affections, and Confidence of his People, which alone can render him powerful at home, and formidable abroad; in Justice to my Country, that these valuable Rights and Privileges, derived to us from our Ancestors, may be transmitted down to Posterity; in Discharge of my own Conscience, and of the great Trust reposed in me by my Constituents, I thought myself obliged, notwithstanding the just Sense I have of my Inability, to give this publick Testimony of my Approbation of what is proposed, and I do most heartily join in the Motion, for bringing in this important and most necessary Bill.

C The next Speech I shall give you, was that made by Servilius Priscus, which was to this Effect, viz.

Mr. President,

S I R,

THE Hon. Gentlemen, who in this Debate have spoke in favour of the Motion, seem all, by their Arguments, to presume, that every Gentleman, who has a Place or Office under the Crown, is to receive Directions from the Crown, with regard to his Behaviour in this House, and that he will always vote and act here according to these Directions. Sir, if there were any Ground for such a Presumption, if I thought that there could ever be any Ground for such a Presumption, I should most readily agree to this Motion: I should not only be for excluding all such Gentlemen from having Seats in this House, but I should be for laying them under all the Incapacities, which Excise-Officers are already by Law subjected to. I should be for preventing their endeavouring to persuade any Elector to give, or to dissuade any from giving his Vote for any Candidate at an Election. But I am very far from

from supposing, that the Crown, or any Minister of the Crown, will ever attempt to give Directions to any Member of this House, with regard to his Behaviour here; and much less can I suppose, that any Gentleman, who has the Honour to be chosen a Member of this House, would submit to follow such Directions, for the Sake of any Place or Office he can have or expect from the Crown. When a Gentleman is chosen a Member of this House, he thereby becomes a Counsellor for his Sovereign, as well as a Trustee for the People, and in both these Respects, he is in Honour bound to give his Opinion freely and sincerely upon every Question that occurs. A Place or Office under the Crown may prevent his associating himself with those that appear to be disaffected or discontented, or it may engage his Assent in Things that appear to be indifferent, or of no great Moment; but it can never engage his Approbation of any Measure that appears to be inconsistent with the Liberties of the People, and consequently, with the Security of the Crown; for these two have now such a mutual Dependence, that no Attempt can be made upon either, without at the same Time weakening the other.

For this Reason, Sir, I should think our Liberties and Constitution in no Danger, even tho' a Majority of this House consisted of such as held Places and Offices under the Crown, provided they were regularly and fairly chosen, which they could not be, unless they were Gentlemen of good Characters, of good Fortunes, and of a good Family-Interest in their Country: With such a Parliament, if the Crown should begin to form any arbitrary Designs, some few of this Majority might, perhaps, be brought over, by the Hopes of great Preferment, or by the Fears of losing what they pos-

essed; but the greatest Part of them would certainly join the Party against the Court, for this very good Reason, because it would be the most certain Way of preserving not only their own Fortunes, but also the Places and Offices they enjoyed. If they should join with the Court in giving a Parliamentary Sanction to such Designs, and establishing an arbitrary Power in the Crown, they would not only render their own private Fortunes precarious, but they would put it in the Power of the Crown to turn them out of the Places and Offices they possess without any Danger; and this would, probably, be the Consequence; for the lowest and most upstart Fellows are generally the best Servants, and most humble Slaves to the haughty Prime Minister of an absolute Sovereign. This, I say, would be the Case, with regard even to those Placemen of Family and Fortune, who had concurred in the Establishment of arbitrary Power: They would be all turned out, and more humble Slaves, or at least, Slaves to whom the Crown and its Ministers did not owe such Obligations, would be put into their Room, as soon as it could be done without Danger of overturning that lofty Fabrick of Power, which by their Assistance had been erected.

This, Sir, would be the certain Fate of all Gentlemen of Character, Family, and Fortune in their Country, if they should, for the Sake of preserving their Posts or Offices, join with the Slaves of a Court in giving a Parliamentary Sanction to, and thereby establishing an arbitrary Power. On the other hand, if most of them should declare against the Court, as, I believe, would be the Case, they would immediately put an end to such a wicked Administration. The Parliament would immediately remove all such evil Counsellors from about the Throne, and

and probably send them where they deserved; in which Case, it would be out of their Power to advise the King to remove those Placemen that had voted against them; and the new Administration would be bound in Gratitude, to continue in Office those that had contributed to their Advancement, and to the Relief of their Country. Nay, for their own Sakes they would be obliged to continue them, and to restore such as had been removed, because those Placemen and Officers who had given such a Testimony of their Honour, and of their generous Love for their Country, would thereby become so popular, and acquire such an additional Interest in their respective Counties, that it would be very dangerous for the new Administration to do them any Injustice.

From hence, Sir, I think it is evident, our Constitution can never be in Danger from any Number of Places and Offices that can be held by the Members of this House. On the contrary, I think, the chief Security of our Constitution consists in this very Power or Capacity, which the Members of this House have, of enjoying Places and Offices under the Crown; because, the Crown is thereby obliged to employ Gentlemen of Character, Fortune, and Interest, in the executive Part of our Government. When two Gentlemen are Candidates for any Place or Office in the executive Part of our Government, both equally qualified as to personal Abilities, but one, a Gentleman of good Fortune and Family, the other of neither, I believe it will be granted, that the former ought to be preferred; and as long as Placemen or Officers are allowed Seats in this House, or Votes at Elections, the Crown, or the Ministers of the Crown, will certainly prefer the former, in order to prevent his ap-

pearing against them, in all Matters of an indifferent Nature, either in this House, or at Elections; but if by preferring him, they should render it impossible for him to do them any Service, either in this House, or at Elections, they would certainly prefer the other, because he would be a more obedient and submissive Tool, and much more attached to their personal Interest and Safety.

The Consequence, therefore, of excluding most Placemen and Officers from having Seats in this House will be, that in a short Time, none but Men of low Birth and no Fortune will be employed in our Army and Navy, and in every other Post or Office, that is necessary for the executive Part of our Government; and if this should ever happen to be the Case, I should think our Constitution in much greater Danger, than it could be, should every Member of this House have a Share in the executive, as well as he has in the legislative Part of the Government of his Country. For this Reason, I must be of Opinion, that as long as you leave the executive Part of your Government in the Crown, you ought to leave the Constitution upon the Footing it now stands, if you have a Mind to preserve it from being overturned by an Army commanded by Officers, and assisted by a great Number of Placemen, of no Birth or Fortune in their Country, and consequently, ready to join with an ambitious Prince or Minister, in overturning the Liberties of their Country.

Whilst we have Parliaments, Sir, and those Parliaments regularly chosen, according to the Laws already in being, I can have no Notion, that the Majority of such a Parliament can be prevailed on by Places or Preferments, to join in arbitrary Designs or oppressive Measures; the only Danger we are in is, lest the Crown should

should be tempted, or obliged to govern without a Parliament; and this even the justest and wisest Prince may find himself obliged to do, if you should take away all those legal Powers, which our Ancestors have found necessary to be lodged in the Crown, in order to enable it to withstand Faction and Sedition. We know how giddy the Populace are in every Country: We know how apt the People are to be led astray by the artful Heads of Faction, whose secret Designs are generally very different from their publick Professions. All wise Governments foresee Dangers and Inconveniences at a great Distance, and, in order to avoid these Dangers, are often obliged to take Measures, that may seem wrong or oppressive to the Ignorant: They may often have wise and good Reasons for what they do, and yet those Reasons may be such as must not be publickly explained. These Circumstances the Heads of Faction, the Disaffected, and the Discontented, take Advantage of, in order to misrepresent the Government to the Multitude; and by these Means, even against a just and wise Prince, a general Discontent may be made to prevail for some short Time, and until the Eyes of the People be opened. If such a Prince had no Honours to bestow, nor any Rewards to give to such as do not allow themselves to be led away by popular Clamours, his Government would be tore to Pieces by a factious Parliament, or he would be obliged to carry it on without any Parliament at all; and in either Case, our Constitution would be undone.

Against this Danger we are guarded, Sir, by the Honours and Favours which the Crown may bestow upon those Electors and Members who do not, out of an Affectation of Popularity, chime in with every popular Discontent; and this, I think, is the only Use the Crown can make

of those Honours, Places and Offices, which it has, by our Constitution, at its Disposal. These Honours, Places, and Offices, may be a Support to the Crown against a popular Frenzy or Delusion, and may support it in a legal Way, till the People have Leisure to consider, and return to their Senses. By these, many Gentlemen may be prevented from joining with a popular Faction, either at Elections or in Parliament, and may at both be kept firm in their Duty to their King and Country; but by these, no Gentleman of any Family or Fortune can be prevailed on to join with the Crown in destroying the Liberties of his Country.

I hope, Sir, our Liberties and Privileges are as yet in no Danger. As long as the People are guided by a Spirit of Virtue and publick Good, their Liberties and Privileges never can be in Danger from any Honours or Rewards the Crown has, or may have in its Power to bestow. But if the People should ever become so abandoned, as that a Majority of them should be ready to sacrifice their Liberties and Privileges for a present Reward, it would, I think, be a very ridiculous Undertaking, to endeavour to guard against it by Laws, which the People would certainly repeal as soon as their Purchasers desired it. Nay, in such a Case, I should think it would be happy for the People to have their Liberties and Privileges taken from them; for when the Individuals of a Community make no other Use of the Liberties and Privileges they enjoy, but to prey upon the Publick, I am certain those Liberties and Privileges must be taken away, or the Community itself will soon be destroyed. Therefore, if it be supposed, that the Crown may, by Means of Places and Offices, get a Majority in Parliament, that for the Sake of the Places and Offices they enjoy,

enjoy, will sacrifice the Liberties and Privileges of their Country, it may be an Argument for putting an End to all Parliaments, and establishing an unlimited Power in the Crown, but it can be no Argument for the Bill now proposed; for if we can suppose, that a Majority of any future Parliament will be such, as are entirely governed by their own immediate Interest, I am sure they will make use of the Privileges they are invested with as Members, in order to accomplish that which is their only Aim, and if they find they cannot accomplish it by serving the Crown, they will endeavour to accomplish it by destroying the Crown, and, probably, by overturning our present happy Establishment.

This, indeed, is the Consequence I chiefly apprehend. We know, Sir, how numerous the Disaffected still are in this Kingdom; and they, we may suppose, are not unsensible of the Prejudice that has been done to their Faction, by the Places and Offices which are at the Disposal of the Crown. These Places and Offices are, as I have said, of great Use to the Crown, and, I think, to the Nation, in preventing Gentlemen from joining with a Faction, or in winning them away from it; and the Jacobites are sensible, they have lost many by this Means, some, perhaps, after they had got them a Seat in this House. For this Reason, we find, they are, in every Part of the Kingdom, great Patrons of this Bill. I hope, we have none of them now in this House; I am sure the Hon. Gentlemen who have proposed and promoted this Bill, can lie under no such Imputation, nor can they be suspected of any such Motives; but we know, that without Doors, the Clamours for this Bill are zealously promoted by the Disaffected, which cannot proceed from any Principle of Liberty, because from their Principles, they must be

for enlarging, instead of diminishing, the Power of the Crown. It can proceed from nothing, but an Opinion, that it would promote their Cause: And, as I happen, in this Case, to be of the same Opinion with them; as I am afraid that, if this Bill should pass into a Law, we might have a Majority of Jacobites, instead of Placemen in this House, therefore, I must be against giving it any Countenance, and, consequently, against the Motion, for Leave to bring it in.

The next Speech I shall give you, was that made by M. Cato, which was in Substance as follows, viz.

Mr. President,

S I R,

THE Opposition made to this Motion is, in my Opinion, one of the strongest Arguments that can be made use of in its Favour, and must, I think, appear so to every Man, who considers the Persons concerned in that Opposition, and the Arguments they make use of for supporting it. Who are the Persons that oppose this Motion? Who were they that have always opposed such Motions? Placemen, Ministers, and the Favourites or Pensioners of Ministers. What do they say for justifying their Opposition? They deny a Principle, a Maxim, which in all Ages, in all Countries, has hitherto been acknowledged, and, upon which, many of our Laws now in being are founded. That a Gentleman's Behaviour in this House, may be influenced by a Place, or a Pension, is a Maxim universally acknowledged, and in this Kingdom so much established, that we have, already, by Law, excluded many of the former, and all the latter, from having Seats in this House. We have, already, by Law, excluded all Pensioners from having Seats in this House, and, I should

be glad to know the Difference between a Pension of 1000*l.* a Year, and a Place with a Salary of 1000*l.* a Year. I know of none, save only that the latter is generally more valuable than the former; and, therefore, a Gentleman will be more loth to lose it, or to give a Vote in this House, that may disoblige a Minister who can take it from him.

I say, Sir, that a Place, with a Salary of 1000*l.* a Year, is more valuable than a Pension of 1000*l.* a Year; because a Place furnishes a Gentleman with an Opportunity to serve his Friends, and, perhaps, to provide some of them with little Places or Offices under him. To which I must add, that a Place often furnishes a Gentleman, who is not very scrupulous, with an Opportunity of plundering his Country yearly, of twice, perhaps ten Times, the Value of his Salary; and this, I must observe, makes another very material Difference between a Place and a Pension: A Placeman may very probably be a Person, whose Conduct this House ought to enquire into: He may be a publick Criminal, and therefore, he will certainly be against an impartial and strict Enquiry into the Conduct of any Minister, Officer, or Placeman, lest the Enquiry should at last light upon himself. There is, therefore, greater Reason for excluding all Placemen, than for excluding all Pensioners, from having Seats in this House. Our admitting some of the former, does not proceed from an Opinion, that a Gentleman's Behaviour may not be influenced by a Place, as much as by a Pension, but from the Necessity we are under, of having some great Officers amongst us, in order to give us proper Information and Direction, in many Affairs that must come under our Consideration.

For this Reason, when I hear Gentlemen, who have very good Places, gravely telling us, that no

Gentleman of Family or Fortune can, by any Place he may enjoy or expect, be induced to join in Measures, that may be of dangerous Consequence to the Constitution or Liberties of his Country, I think it is a clear Proof, not only that the Behaviour of a Gentleman of Family and Fortune may be influenced by the Post he enjoys or expects, but also, that his Judgment may be biassed. He may be, thereby, induced to think those Things indifferent, or of no Moment, that are far from being so: He may be, thereby, induced to think those Measures right, that to every impartial Man appear to be pernicious: He may be, thereby, induced to think the Liberties of his Country in no Danger, when they are upon the very Brink of Destruction. I shall grant, Sir, that we ought not rashly, and without just Cause, to make any Alteration in our Constitution, nor ought we to frighten ourselves with fanciful Dangers; but if the Danger we now apprehend, from the great Number of Officers and Placemen in this House, be suggested only by a melancholy and gloomy Disposition, that Disposition is, I am sure, now become epidemical; for there is not, I believe, a Man in the Nation, not possessed, or in Expectation of some Post or Pension under the Crown, who does not apprehend this Danger, or who is not convinced of its being not only real, but imminent. Placemen and Pensioners may, 'tis true, be of a more gay Disposition than others, and therefore, not so apt to apprehend our Constitution's being in Danger; but for this very Reason, we ought not to have a Majority of them in this House; for if ever we should, I may prognosticate, that their Gayety will give the rest of the Nation good Cause to be melancholy.

An Hon. Gentleman who has had several, and has now a very good Place,

Place, has been pleased to tell us, that we ought never to think of providing against any Danger, till it be felt, as well as foreseen. I do not know, Sir, what that Gentleman may feel, or foresee; but I can assure him, the Nation thinks it has often felt the Influence of Places and Pensions in this House. I shall not undertake the invidious Task of shewing how, or when, that Influence has been felt; but I may say in general, that even of late Years, there have been many Questions in this House, which would not have gone as they did, had we had few or no Officers or Placemen amongst us; and if all the Officers and Placemen would now retire, or refuse to give their Votes in this Question, in which they may properly be said to be Parties concerned, I should not doubt the Success of my Hon. Friend's Motion. In this House, we ought to see with the same Eyes our Constituents see with, and we ought to feel what the Nation feels, which is a good Reason for our admitting but few Placemen, and no Pensioners amongst us; for both the Seeing and Feeling of him who receives 500*l.* or 1000*l.* a Year, will always be very different from the Seeing and Feeling of those that pay it. The Difference between the Foresight of Placemen, and that of the Nation, is notorious, and very remarkable, in this, that the former are mighty quick at foreseeing those Dangers, which occasion the keeping up of a standing Army, but with regard to those Dangers that threaten our Constitution, they have hitherto appeared to be almost quite blind; whereas the Nation has always been, and, I hope, always will be, quick-sighted with regard to those Dangers that threaten our Constitution, and never very apprehensive of any of those Dangers that are usually pretended for our keeping up a numerous standing Army. This, I say, is

a remarkable Difference, with regard to the Faculty of seeing or foreseeing any Danger; and with regard to that of feeling, it is certain, a Gentleman of 1000*l.* a Year Estate, who pays 700*l.* a Year towards our national Taxes, and has a Pension or Salary of 1000*l.* a Year paid him out of those Taxes, can never be so sensible of their Weight, as another Gentleman of 1000*l.* a Year Estate, who pays but 500*l.* a Year towards our national Taxes, and has no Pension or Salary coming in. Therefore, I hope, the Hon. Gentleman will forgive me, if I say, that our Liberties may be in the most imminent and real Danger, tho' neither he, nor any other Placeman, either feels or foresees it; and this, I think, is a very good Reason, why our Liberties should not be committed to their keeping.

I shall admit, Sir, that a Gentleman of Family, Fortune, Character, and Interest in his Country, is not so liable to be influenced by a Place he may enjoy or expect, as one who has none of these Advantages; but will any Gentleman say, that none but Gentlemen of Family, Fortune, Character, and Interest in their Country, can get themselves chosen Members of this House? Do not we know, that a Minister may get a Man chosen, tho' he has neither Family, Fortune, Character, nor Interest to recommend him? Do not we know, that most of the little Boroughs upon our Coasts, are already, by Means of our Custom-House, and Sea Officers, brought entirely under the Direction of our Administration? And if the late *Excise Scheme* had passed into a Law, I believe, the Case would, by this Time, have been the same, with regard to most of the little inland Boroughs in the Kingdom. Suppose this should hereafter be brought about, by Means of some such Scheme, past into a Law, at the End of a Session, and before People

had Time to consider its Consequences: Could we suppose, that a wicked or ambitious Minister, would ever allow a Gentleman of Family or Fortune to be chosen by any of the Boroughs under his Direction, unless he were such a one as would be influenced by the Place the Minister had given, or could give him?

In this Case, Sir, let us consider, that of the 513 Members that represent *England* and *Wales*, there are but 92 chosen by Counties, and of the remaining 421, there are at least 350 chosen by Cities, Boroughs, and Cinque Ports, where the Administration would have the absolute Command and Direction. If this should ever happen to be our unlucky Fate, can we suppose, that any Gentleman would set up to be a Member of this House, or a Representative even for any of our Counties, but such as resolved to submit, with regard to their Behaviour here, to the absolute Direction of the prime Minister? For no Gentleman of Honour would put himself to Expence, or expose himself to the Resentment of an all-powerful Minister, if by setting up as a Candidate at any Election, he were absolutely certain that he could thereby do his Country no Service. Instead of Gentlemen of Family, Fortune, Character, or Interest in their Country, we should then see this House filled with the lowest Tools, and vilest Sycophants of absolute Power. Instead of this House's being a Check upon Ministers, it would then, like the Parliaments of *France*, or the *Roman* Senates under their Emperors, be an Instrument for the Oppressions of Ministers, and a Cloak for their Crimes. The most rapacious Plunderer, the most tyrannical Oppressor, would then insolently boast, that he did nothing but according to Law, that the publick Treasure was regularly accounted for in Parliament, and that he was at all Times ready to

submit his Conduct to a parliamentary Inquiry.

Surely, Sir, no Gentleman can think, that the Liberties of this Nation consist in our having the Resemblance of a Parliament. We may have a Parliament, that Parliament may be chosen once every seven Years, may sit annually as it does now, may pass Laws, grant Money, receive Accounts, and even make Enquiries, and yet we may have neither Constitution nor Liberty left; for if it should once come to be in the Power of the Administration, to have always a Majority in Parliament, ready to obey the Directions given them by the Ministers, there would be no Necessity for destroying the very Form of our Constitution, or for making a direct and absolute Surrender of our Liberties: Without either of these, our Sovereign would be as absolute, and might be more tyrannical, than the *Grand Signior* himself. Such a Parliament would grant him as many *Spahis* and *Janizaries*, as he thought necessary for keeping his Slaves in Subjection, would give him any Revenue he pleased to demand, and would pass whatever Laws he might please to propose; and the Judges, being under no parliamentary Restraint, would, in every Part of his Dominions, give Judgment according to the Directions of the *Prime Vizir*, or governing *Bashaw*. Thus Oppression would be countenanced by the Forms of Law, and the People plundered, the Innocent murdered, by the Administration of Justice.

It is this Sort of Ruin, Sir, we have chiefly to apprehend, and this Sort of Ruin we may, Step by Step, be led into, without our being sensible of the several Steps. We shall certainly be led into it, if we trust, any longer, the Guardianship of our Liberties to those, whose Foresight is blunted by the Places they enjoy or expect.

expect. If a Minister were to propose a Law for giving the Crown a Power of sending to every County, City, and Borough in the Kingdom, such a *Congé d'Elire* for the Choice of Members of Parliament, as is now sent to a Dean and Chapter for the Choice of a Bishop, I believe, very few Gentlemen of Family or Fortune would, for the Sake of any Place, agree to it; but an equivalent Power may be got by multiplying penal Laws, and increasing the Number and Power of Officers; and a Gentleman of Family, Fortune, Character, and Interest in his Country, may, by a good Place, be induced to believe, that such a Law, or such an Increase of the Number and Power of Officers, is necessary for preventing fraudulent Practices, or the like; and may, therefore, agree to it, without seeing the Danger our Constitution may be thereby exposed to: Thus by Degrees he may be made to agree to such Propositions, one after another, till he has thereby established in the Crown, the absolute Direction of most of the Elections in the Kingdom.

This, Sir, would have been the certain Consequence of the late *Excise Scheme*; and yet there were many Gentlemen of Family and Fortune that approved of it. I am convinced they did not foresee this Consequence. Nay, I have so much Charity, as to believe, that the chief Patron of that Scheme did not foresee this Consequence; but every impartial Man in the Kingdom is now, I believe, sensible of it. That Scheme was, indeed, such a large Step towards giving the Crown the Direction of most of our Elections, and by good Luck, was so thoroughly considered, before it was brought into this House, that most Gentlemen became sensible of the Danger, before it was too late; and this was the Cause of its meeting with the Fate it deserved; but its Fate will

be a Warning to future Ministers, not to attempt making such a large Step at once: They will from thence see, that they must grasp at this Power by little and little, which they will certainly do, and as certainly, at last, accomplish, unless we take care to exclude from this House, most of those who, by the Places they enjoy, are induced to have a better Opinion of Ministers, than any Man ought to have, that is intrusted with the Guardianship of the Constitution and Liberties of his Country.

The Question is not, Sir, whether a Gentleman may be induced, by the Office or Place he holds or expects, to make at once, and in an open and direct Manner, an absolute Surrender of the Liberties of his Country: No Prince or Minister of common Sense, will ever desire such a Surrender; because, if he can get into his Hands, an uncontrollable Power over most of our Elections, and, consequently, the Direction of the Parliaments chosen by this uncontrollable Power, his Power will, in every Respect, be as absolute, and may be exercised in a more arbitrary Manner, and with greater Security to himself, than it could be, without the Appearance of a parliamentary Authority; for every unpopular and oppressive Measure would then be made the Act and Deed of the Parliament, and the Lenity of the Minister in the Execution of those penal Laws enacted by Parliament, or in the Exercise of those Powers granted him by Parliament, would be set forth and extolled by his Tools in a *Gazetteer*, or some such Paper, published by his Authority, and dispersed through the whole Kingdom at the publick Expence. The Question, therefore, now before us is, whether a Gentleman's Eyes may not, by a lucrative and honourable Post or Employment, be so overclouded, as to prevent his seeing through

through the plausible Pretences, that may, from Time to Time, be made use of, by an artful Minister, for getting into his Hands, or into the Hands of the Crown, such an uncontrollable Power, as I have mentioned; and this Question, even with respect to Gentlemen of Family and Fortune, will, I am sure, be answered in the Affirmative, by every Man in the Kingdom, who does not possess or expect some Post, or Imployment, or some of those Titles of Honour, which, by our Constitution, as it is now modelled, the Crown has absolutely at its Disposal.

To tell us, Sir, that our Liberties can never be in Danger from a Majority of Placemen in this House, unless the People be generally abandoned, as to all Principles of Virtue and publick Good, and unless the Crown has, at the same Time, formed Designs against our Liberties; and that the only Method for removing this Danger, in case we should, at any Time, be threatened with it, would be to take proper Measures for restoring Virtue, and publick Spirit among the People, and for removing evil Counsellors from about the Throne; To tell us this, I say, Sir, in a serious Manner, is something very extraordinary: It is mistaking the Effect for the Cause, and desiring us to begin at the wrong End. Corruption, Sir, is not the Effect, but the Cause of a general Depravity of Manners among the People of any Country, and has in all Countries, as well as this, been first practised and encouraged by Ministers and Courtiers. It would, therefore, be ridiculous in us, to think of restoring Virtue among the People, till we have once made it impossible for Ministers and Courtiers to corrupt them; and, I am sure, it would be still more ridiculous in us, to think of removing an evil Counsellor from about the Throne, till we have once removed his Creatures and Tools out of this House.

I hope, Sir, there are at present no evil Counsellors about the Throne: If there were, I am sure, no such Counsellor has a Majority of his Creatures and Tools in this House. If this were the Case, it would have been very ridiculous to have made such a Motion as this now before us. It would be very ridiculous to think of restoring our Constitution by any legal Method: It is this Misfortune we intend to prevent by the Bill now moved for. It is a Misfortune now foreseen by all unprejudiced Men in the Kingdom. I hope it is not yet too late to think of preventing it by a legal Method; for after we have once fallen into this Misfortune, it will be impossible to recover. If an ambitious Minister should once get a Majority of his Creatures and Tools into this House, can we suppose they would consent to impeach, or remove him from the Throne? Can we suppose, they would ever consent to any Bill that might tend to distress the Administration of their Master? Can we suppose, they would refuse any Thing that might tend to prolong his Administration and increase his Power? Every Attempt to restore the Constitution, would be branded with the Name of Republicanism: The Discontents of the People would be called Disaffection and Jacobitism: Every Opposition would be said to proceed from Malice and Resentment; and the Misfortune would be, that many honest well meaning Men, induced by their Places to have a better Opinion of Ministers than they ought to have, would give Credit to these Pretences, and would believe, that by agreeing to the Minister's arbitrary Schemes, they were only strengthening the Hands of the Government against Republicanism, Jacobitism, and Sedition.

If it were possible to be merry in a Debate of so great Importance, it would be diverting to observe the

Contra-

Contradiction in the Arguments made use of against this Motion. By some, our Gentlemen of Family and Fortune are represented to be Men of such strict Honour, and such clear Heads, that no Place or Pension can mislead their Judgment, or direct their Will; no selfish Consideration can make them overlook the Danger our Liberties may be exposed to, or consent to any Thing, they think may in the least endanger our Constitution. By others again, our Gentlemen of Family and Fortune are represented as such selfish mercenary Creatures, that unless the Government would give them some Post or Pension, they would refuse to consent to those Things that are absolutely necessary for the Ends of Government, and the Preservation of their Country. Now these two contradictory Positions, tho' they cannot be equally true, may be, and, I believe, they are equally false. We have, I believe, some Gentlemen amongst us, whose Judgment cannot be biassed, nor their Will directed, by any selfish Consideration. Such Men, I hope, we shall always have in some of our highest Offices, and these are not designed by this Bill to be excluded from having Seats in this House; but their Number will always be small, and, therefore, not sufficient by themselves alone, to support the Constitution against a Combination of all the Fools and Knaves that may hereafter get into this House; therefore, we must endeavour to prevent this Combination, and this can only be done by such a Bill as is now proposed.

On the other hand, Sir, I believe there may be some amongst us, who propose nothing by their Service in this House, but their own private Advantage; and whilst we have Placemen and Pensioners amongst us, such Men will endeavour all they can to get into Parliament. Nay, it may become so customary for

every Man that votes with the Court, to have a Place or a Pension, that no Man will do so without some such Reward. But if ever this selfish Spirit should get into Parliament, our Constitution will be undone; and to prevent this, is the Design of the Bill now moved for: If no Man could, by being a Member of Parliament, propose to get any Place or Office, or any Advantage to himself, the Mercenary and Selfish would seldom endeavour to get themselves chosen, at least they would never be at any Expence for this Purpose; and as such Men have seldom a great natural Interest in any Part of the Kingdom, there would always be such a small Number of them in Parliament, that their Opposition could never obstruct or retard any Thing that seemed necessary for the just Ends of Government, or for the Preservation and Happiness of the Society. The publick Good would then be the only Aim of Ministers, as well as Members, because neither of them could hope for Success in any other; and as Men of good Sense and strict Honour are the best Judges of, and the most ready to agree upon what is necessary for the publick Good, it would then be as much the Business of Ministers to get such Men chosen, as it is now their Business to get such Members chosen, as are Men of mercenary Tempers, or shallow Understandings; for all Ministers will have Jobs to do in Parliament, as long as they have any Hopes of Success, and the Weak or Mercenary will always be the most proper for this Purpose.

I am, indeed, surprized, Sir, to hear it said by an Hon. Gentleman, whose Attachment to the present Establishment is not to be doubted, that if most Placemen were excluded from this House, there would soon be a Majority of Jacobites in it.

it. Such a Supposition is not to be made, without first supposing, that a great Majority of the People are Jacobites; and to suppose this, is, I am sure, no Compliment to our present Royal Family, and much less to the King now upon our Throne. As long as our Parliaments are independent, and our Elections free, there can never be any considerable Number of Jacobites, either in this House, or in the Nation; but if there should once come to be a Majority of Placemen and Officers in this House, that Majority would soon create a Majority of Jacobites in the Nation; and in that Case, tho' the Majority within Doors, might be a good Security to Ministers against parliamentary Prosecutions, yet it would be but a bad Security to the Royal Family, against an Insurrection of the whole People without Doors. The Army, upon which we now seem so much to depend, or a great Part of them, would, probably, join with the People, and the certain Consequence would be the Overthrow of our present Establishment. This Danger, I know, a guilty Minister will always chuse to expose his Master to, rather than expose himself to a legal Trial, before a free and independent Parliament: Because in a general Conflagration, he may, possibly, escape Notice, or may, perhaps, be able to sacrifice his Master, by Way of an Atonement for himself; but those who support him in thus exposing his Master, can have no great Regard for their Sovereign, and in such an Event, would certainly meet with the Contempt and Punishment they so highly deserved.

For this Reason, Sir, as I have a greater Regard for the Security of the Royal Family, than I have for the Security of our present Ministers, or of any Set of Ministers that shall ever get into the Management of our publick Affairs, I shall be for

putting it out of the Power of any future Minister, to overturn our Constitution, by getting a Majority of Placemen and Pensioners into this House. This, I think, is now become absolutely necessary, for preventing our being brought under one of the worst Sorts of tyrannical Governments that was ever contrived or established. For this Purpose, the Bill now moved for is one of the most certain, and one of the most obvious Methods that can be thought of. It can be attended with no Inconvenience. It is impossible to shew so much as a plausible Reason against it; and, therefore, if this Motion be rejected, it must afford a most melancholy Reflexion to every one that understands our Constitution, and has a Regard for the Liberties of his Country.

Upon this Gentleman's sitting down, M. Tullius Cicero stood up, and spoke to this Effect, viz.

*Mr. President,
S I R,*

I WAS a little surprized to hear it said, by the Hon. Gentleman who spoke last, that this Motion's being opposed by Ministers and Placemen, is a strong Argument in its Favour. In my Opinion, this is a Sort of begging the Question. Before we can suppose this to be an Argument in Favour of the Motion, we must suppose, that Ministers and Placemen oppose it, not because they think it wrong, but because they are Ministers and Placemen, which is the very Question now in Debate. I do not believe, that ever any Minister or Placeman opposed, or supported a Question in this House, contrary to his private Sentiments, and only, because he was a Minister or Placeman. I am sure, their Conduct of late Years has given us no Room to think so; nor can we ever have Room to think

think so, as long as none but Gentlemen of Credit and Honour are employed in the Administration, or in any Place of Honour and Profit under the Crown. If mere Upstarts, or Persons of no Fortune or Credit in their Country, were employed, and by illegal Methods brought into this House, for by fair Means they could not, there might be some Room for making such a Supposition, and then there would be some Cause for bringing in such a Bill as is now proposed; but when I look round me, and consider the particular Circumstances of those Gentlemen now here, who have the Honour to be at the same Time in the Service of the Crown, I must look upon the Danger, now pretended to be so real and imminent, to be as chimerical a Danger, as the most luxuriant Fancy can invent.

I shall agree with the Hon. Gentlemen who seem so fond of this Bill, that if the Crown could gain an absolute and uncontrollable Power over all, or a Majority of the Elections in the Kingdom, every Parliament thus chosen by the Power, would be under the Direction of the Crown, and in this Case our Constitution would be at an End; but this I think impossible. Whilst the Crown pursues right Measures; whilst none but Gentlemen of good Credit and Fortune are employed in the Administration, or in any superior Post or Office under the Administration, the Crown will certainly have a great Influence both in Parliament, and at Elections; but this proceeds from the Wisdom and Uprightness of its Measures, and from the natural Weight of those that are employed; and it would certainly cease, as soon as the Crown began to pursue contrary Measures; because, we must suppose, the Administration would then certainly be deserted, and opposed by all, or most Gentlemen of any Fortune or Credit in

their Country. This, I say, we must suppose, unless we can suppose, that Gentlemen of Fortune and Credit in their Country, would unite in Measures for making a Sacrifice of themselves, as well as their Country; which is a Supposition that cannot, I think, be made, nor pretended, by any Man whose Head is sound, and Heart sincere.

In all Questions, Sir, which do not admit of Demonstration, there must be a Variety of Opinions; and as Questions of a political Nature are less capable of Demonstration than any other, it is natural to see a Difference of Sentiments in every Country like this, where the People have not only a Power to judge, but a Liberty to talk and write against the Measures pursued by the Government: This is natural, and even necessary, in every Country where the People are free; and as every Man is fond of his own Opinion, and fully convinced of his having Reason on his Side, he is apt to imagine, that those who differ from him, must be governed by some Prejudice, or by some selfish Consideration. From hence it is, that all those who disapprove of the Measures of the Government conclude, that the Approbation of those that differ from them, proceeds from the Influence of some lucrative Post they are in Possession or Expectation of; and on the other hand, those that approve of, and support the Measures pursued by the Government, are apt to conclude, that the Opposition is entirely owing to Party Prejudice, or to Malice and Resentment. For my Part, I shall always endeavour to keep in the middle Course, and to believe that both are in the Wrong; and, therefore, I shall always be against any Alteration in our Constitution, when I think, that the Alteration proposed, is founded upon one or other of these Mistakes.

takes. I should be as much against restraining the Liberties of the People, in order to prevent that Influence which is supposed to proceed from Party Prejudice, Malice, and Resentment, as I shall be against restraining the Power or free Choice of the Crown, in order to prevent that Influence which is supposed to proceed from the Disposal of Places and Preferments. There may, perhaps, I believe there always will, be a little of each in the Nation; but neither can ever be of any dangerous Consequence to our Constitution: On the contrary, they serve as a Balance to each other; so that by removing either, without removing the other at the same Time, the Constitution will run a great Risk of being overturned.

There are many Causes, Sir, which naturally raise a Party against the best and wisest Administration. In this Life, it is impossible for us to be compleatly happy. All Men feel some Wants, Pressures, or Misfortunes; and very few are willing to impute them to their own Folly, or to any Mistake in their own Conduct. To such Men, the Administration is in Politics, what the Devil is in Religion, it is the Author of all their Misdeeds, and the Cause of all their Sufferings: This naturally breeds in them a bad Opinion of the Administration, and then, of Course, they not only condemn, but oppose all its Measures. This must raise a great many Enemies to the Administration in every Country, and their Number will be considerably increased by those that are disappointed of the Honours or Preferments they expected, and justly, as they thought, deserved; as well as by those that wish for a Change in the Administration, for no other Reason but because they hope for a Share in the next. In all Countries it is honourable to have a Share in the Government of one's Country:

In rich Countries it is profitable as well as honourable; and as there are but a very few in any Country that can have a Share of the Government, and still fewer that can have such a Share as, they think, they deserve, there must be many Candidates for every Title of Honour, or Post of Profit that is to be disposed of. Of these Candidates, one only can be chosen, and all the rest will, of Course, think they have had Injustice done them; for few Men are so modest as to think such a Disappointment owing to their own Want of Merit, or to the superior Merit of their Rival; and from thence they will begin to entertain a secret Animosity, nay, perhaps, they will declare an open Enmity to those at the Head of the Administration.

By these two Sorts of Men united together, there will always be a considerable Party in every Country, ready to condemn and vilify the wisest Measures that can be pursued by the Administration; and, as in every free Country there are different Parties, as in this Country there are at present, and, I believe, always will be different Parties, the Parties that are by their Profession and Principles opposite to the Party in Power, will be ready to find Fault with every Thing done by the Administration. In this Country, I say, Sir, there are, and, I believe, always will be different Parties: There are at present, and will be, as long as our present happy Establishment endures, three different Parties in this Kingdom: The Jacobites of one Side, the Republicans of the other, which I may call the two Extremes; and the Party for supporting our present happy Establishment, which may be justly called the proper Mean between these two Extremes.

Thus, Sir, we may see what a numerous Party, our Administration must always have to struggle with. All these Sorts of Men, the Discontented,

ted, the Disappointed, the Jacobites, and the Republicans, will always be ready to condemn and oppose the Measures of the Administration, let them be never so wise, let them be never so just; and by their Arguments they will often be able to prevail with some well-meaning and unthinking Men, or at least to stagger them in their Opinions. With regard to Parliaments, and the Choice of Members of Parliament, our Administration has no Defence against this formidable Union of Parties, but by the Wisdom of their Measures to engage most Gentlemen of Credit and Fortune in their Interest. Whilst the Administration pursues right Measures, such Gentlemen will be ready to join with them, and by this Means the Administration will always have a prevailing Influence, both in Parliament, and at Elections; for when a Majority of those who have the best Fortunes, and greatest Interest in their respective Countries, are Friends to the Administration, it is not at all surprizing, that an Administration, by Means of such Friends, should have a prevailing Influence at Elections, as well as in Parliament. But such Friends, or at least a great Number of such, no Administration can have, that pursues Measures inconsistent with the Good of the Community in general.

I shall grant, Sir, that a Title of Honour, or a lucrative Post or Employment, may be of some Service in prevailing with a Gentleman to judge favourably of the Government's Measures, in all Cases where he is wavering in his Opinion; but a bad Government can never, by this Way, gain many Friends; even a good Government can never gain near so many Friends, as it will lose by causeless Discontents and just Disappointments; and if you should take away from the Crown the chief Advantage it can reap by the Disposal of Posts

and Employments, not only a good Administration, but even the Crown itself, may sink under the Weight of Party Prejudice, supported by causeless Discontent, and just Disappointment; therefore, to support the Crown against the Disadvantages and Opposition which the wisest and best Administration must always have to struggle with, I think, you ought to leave it in the Power of the Crown to dispose of all Posts and Employments, in the same Manner they have been hitherto, without any bad Effect, disposed of.

If you should, by the Bill now proposed, exclude all Gentlemen in any Place or Office under the Crown, from having Seats in this House, you would, in my Opinion, Sir, bring the Constitution into much greater Danger, than it can ever be brought into, by any Number of Placemen and Officers that can be in this House; for the Crown would, in that Case, be laid under a Necessity to employ none but Men of low Fortunes and no Interest; because, if the Places and Offices under the Crown, should be given to Gentlemen of Character and Distinction in their respective Countries, and they thereby excluded from having Seats in this House, the chief Friends of the Government being thus rendered incapable of standing Candidates at Elections, the disaffected, or discontented Interest would prevail in every Part of the Kingdom; and in that Case, this House would soon be filled with such as were declared Enemies to the Administration. To prevent this Consequence, the Administration would, therefore, be obliged to employ none in any Post or Office under the Crown, but such as had neither Fortune nor Interest in their Country, in order that their Friends might be in a Condition to get themselves chosen Members of this House; for, I believe, it will be granted, that no Administration could

could support itself, or answer any of the Ends of Government, if the Majority of this House consisted of such as were its declared Enemies.

From hence, Sir, I think it is evident, that if this Bill should pass into a Law, the necessary Consequence would be, that in a very short Time our Armies would be entirely commanded by Officers of no Fortune or Interest in their Country: Our Navy would be in the same Condition: All Posts and Offices under the Crown would be filled with Men of the same Stamp; and in these Circumstances, if an ambitious, or a hot, passionate Prince should succeed to the Throne, I must desire Gentlemen to consider, whether our Constitution and Liberties would not be in more Danger, than they can ever be, as long as our Army and Fleet are commanded by Officers, and all other considerable Posts under the Crown filled with Gentlemen, of such Fortune and Interest in their respective Countries, as to be able to get themselves chosen Members of this House. It has been generally admitted in this Debate, that Gentlemen of no Fortunes will always be more ready to second the ambitious Designs of a Court, than Gentlemen who have good Fortunes of their own, the Security of which must depend upon the Preservation of our Constitution; and for this very Reason, an ambitious or headstrong Prince can never have any great Affection for Parliaments or Senates, constituted as those in this Kingdom are. If the Prince could bring whom he pleased, and as many as he pleased into Parliament, and expel or turn out whom he pleased, as the *Roman* Emperors did with regard to their Senates, the most ambitious and arbitrary Prince would have no great Occasion to grow weary of Parliaments; but as the King can bring no Member into his House, nor expel any one; as

no Gentleman can come into this House but by the free Choice of his Country, it must always consist of Gentlemen of Character and Fortune, and consequently, will always be a Restraint which an ambitious Prince will be glad to get rid of; therefore, we have more Reason to apprehend its being in the Power of a Prince to govern without a Parliament, than its being in his Power to govern or direct the Parliament; and, I am sure, when our Armies and Fleets are commanded by Officers, and all other Posts filled with Gentlemen of no Fortunes, it will be more easy for a Prince to govern without a Parliament, than it ever can be, as long as many of those Officers and Gentlemen are Members of this House.

Even the Gentlemen who have spoke in Favour of this Bill, are so sensible of the Difficulty there will always be in obtaining the Consent of Gentlemen of Character and Fortune, to any Thing that may look like an Incroachment upon our Constitution, that they seem to think, we are in no Danger from the Number of Placemen and Officers in this House, unless Gentlemen of no Character or Fortune be brought here by the Interest of the Government, merely on Account of their having Places or Offices under the Crown; and in order to magnify this Danger, we have been told, that most of the little Boroughs upon the Coast, are entirely under the Direction of the Government, with regard to their Elections, and that the little Inland Boroughs would have been in the same Condition, if the late *Excise Scheme* had passed into a Law. Sir, I find Gentlemen will not, upon this Occasion, make that Distinction, which, I think, is a very obvious one, between the Circumstances of our Government, when none but Gentlemen of good Families and Fortunes are employed in its Service, and

and the Circumstances it would be in, if few or no such Gentlemen would accept of being employed, which will always be the Case, when it is pursuing Measures that seem to be of dangerous Consequence to the Constitution, or inconsistent with the publick Good. In the former Case, many of those employed in the Government's Service will be returned for Inland as well as Coast Boroughs, not because they are in the Government's Service, but because they have a great natural Interest in their respective Countries. In the latter Case, as all those Gentlemen that had any natural Interest would be against the Government, it would be impossible for the Government to get many of its low Tools chosen, either for our Boroughs upon the Coast, or for our Inland Boroughs. In this Case, if the *Excise Scheme* had passed into a Law, it would have made no Difference; for as long as our Elections are free, those that have the best Interest will always be chosen; and as the Government's Interest must always depend upon the Interest of those that are employed in its Service, no Excise Scheme, nor any such Scheme can give an Interest to a Government that has no Gentlemen of Interest in its Service. Therefore, as long as our Elections are free, there is not the least Danger, that any great Number of Gentlemen of no Character or Fortune can ever be brought into this House; and the Freedom of our Elections is already as fully secured as Laws can secure it.

I hope, Sir, I have now fully shewn, that our Constitution and Liberties can be in no Danger from any Number of Placemen or Officers in this House, unless we suppose, that a great Number of Gentlemen of Family, Fortune, Character, and Interest in their Country, would chuse to make a Sacri-

fice of themselves, their Posterity, and their Country, rather than risk losing the Place or Office they possess under the Crown. This is a Supposition which, I think, there never can be any Ground for. If there were: If it were possible to suppose such a general and abandoned Venality among the better Sort of People of this Kingdom, the Bill would either have no Effect, or a very bad one. Can we suppose that such venal and abandoned Men would serve their Country in Parliament for nothing? They would either set up a Traffick with the Crown for private Pensions to themselves, or Posts and Preferments to their Trustees or Relations, which no Laws nor Oaths could discover or prevent; or otherwise they would form themselves into a Party for overturning the Administration; and thus one Administration would be overturned after another, till at last the Country would become a Prey to some foreign Power, or until some Done Administration, more bold and artful than the former, should fall upon a Method to establish themselves in arbitrary Power. There is, therefore, no Occasion for this Bill; or if there is, it would either have no Effect, or a very bad one; and this, I think, is a sufficient Reason for my being against bringing it in.

The next that rose up upon this Occasion, was M. Furius Camillus, whose Speech was in Substance thus:

Mr. President,
S I R,

THE Hon. Gentleman who spoke last has told us, that Questions in Politicks admit of no Demonstration. In this I am intirely of his Opinion, and, I think, this Opinion was never more strongly confirmed, than by the Debate of this Day. There never was a Question in this House, that could be brought

brought nearer to a Demonstration, than the Question now before us; and yet, I find, it is not possible to convince those that may be affected by its being agreed to. It has been hitherto reckoned a Maxim in Law, which I never before heard disputed, that Parties ought not to be Judges; but now I find this Maxim denied, and, indeed, it must be so, by every Gentleman that says, our Constitution can never suffer by a Majority of Placemen in this House; for that Placemen and Officers of all Kinds must be Parties concerned in many Cases, which we, as Members of this House, must judge of, is so clear, that I should have been ashamed to have given you the Trouble of proving it, if I had not heard the Motion now before you so warmly opposed.

Upon this Occasion, Sir, I must observe, that all free Governments must consist of two distinct Powers, the legislative, and the executive, the last of which is always subordinate, and subject to the Review of the first. The very Essence of a free Government consists, among other Things, in this, that all those who are entrusted with the executive Power, shall be accountable for their Conduct to the legislative Power, and may be punished by the legislative Power, which always consists in some Sort of an Assembly of the People, in case it be found that they have neglected or transgressed their Duty in the Execution of their Office; for what Benefit could the People reap from their having the Power of making their own Laws, if those who are intrusted with the executive Power of the Society, might, without Fear or Controul, betray or neglect the publick Affairs of the Society, or injure and oppress Individuals, either by neglecting to execute the Laws, or by executing them in a different Manner from what was intended, or by

pretending to act according to Law, without having any Law for their Authority?

This, I say, Sir, is essential to every free Government, and, accordingly, we have this Regulation established by our Frame of Government in the most perfect Manner. Those who are intrusted with the executive Power are all, or most of them, named by the King; but then every one of them, from the highest to the lowest, is accountable to, and may be punished by the two Houses of Parliament; and it is particularly the Business of this House, which is the grand Inquest of the Nation, to enquire into their Conduct, and to impeach those we find guilty of any Neglect or Misdemeanor, in the Exercise of that Part of the executive Power which is intrusted to them by the Crown. Therefore, it is our Duty to make frequent Inquiries into the Conduct of every Minister, Officer, and Placeman appointed by the Crown; and upon all such Enquiries, we are to examine strictly into their Behaviour, and judge impartially of their Conduct. From hence it appears, that in all such Inquiries, and in all Questions relating to them, the Members of this House, as such, are Judges of the Conduct and Behaviour of every Placeman, Officer, or Minister employed by the Crown in the executive Part of our Government; and consequently, every Placeman, Officer, and Minister, that has a Seat in this Assembly, must be both Judge and Party in many Cases that ought to be brought before us.

It signifies nothing to say, Sir, that no Officer can be a Party concerned in the Conduct of another Officer, and that an Officer who happens to be a Member of this House, must retire, as soon as any Question arises relating to his own Conduct; for as there are many and great

great Connexions between different Offices, and between Officers of different Offices, which may at first View appear entirely distinct, it is impossible so much as to guess, when an Inquiry, or any leading Question to an Inquiry, into the Conduct of A one Office or Officer is moved for, I say it is impossible to guess what other Officers may, upon the Event of a strict Enquiry, appear to have been Confederates with him in his Crimes. Nay, even those Officers that never had any Dealings with him, cannot know but that a close Enquiry into one Office, may bring to Light, as it often does, some Mal-practices of other Offices, in which they themselves have a Concern; and therefore, every Officer in the House will think himself a Party concerned, in every Enquiry that can be set on Foot, and will, consequently, endeavour to prevent or defeat every such Enquiry. To this I must add, that in all Degrees and Stations in Life, we find, that Men of the same Trade, Employment, or Profession, especially where their Business does not interfere, conceive an Affection for one another, and are therefore apt to judge very partially in one another's Favour; from whence it must be concluded, that in every such Enquiry, and every Question that arises relating to any such, all Ministers, Placemen, and Officers, are Parties concerned, not only in Interest, but Affection; and consequently, all those who have Seats in this House, must, in all such Cases, be both Judges and Parties, which is directly contrary to the established Maxim I have mentioned.

Whether it be owing to the great Number of Placemen and Officers we have had for many Years in this House, or whether it be owing to the Integrity of those who have of late Years been concerned in the executive Part of our Go-

vernment, I do not know; but I must observe, that parliamentary Inquiries into the Management of Offices, and Conduct of Officers appointed by the Crown, have of late Years been very rare; and yet, in order to keep all such Officers to their good Behaviour, I must be of Opinion, that such Inquiries ought to be frequently set on Foot, and strictly carried on, tho' no direct Complaint has been made against any one particular Officer; for a public Rumour is a sufficient Ground for a parliamentary Inquiry, and no Man can say, that such Grounds have been wanting. But whatever may be the Cause of our having lately had so few parliamentary Inquiries, I will be bold to prophesy, that if there should ever be a Majority of Placemen and Officers in this House, we shall never afterwards have any more such Inquiries, unless they be such as are set up at the Instigation, and by the Contrivance of Ministers, in order to gain a little Popularity, by throwing a Scape-Goat among the People. And if this should ever come to be our Case, I am sure no Man could with Justice say, that we lived under a free Government, or that our Constitution remained entire.

E Thus, I think, Sir, the Question now before us is brought as near a Demonstration as any such Question can possibly be. As Members of this House, we are to enquire into, and judge of the Conduct of Ministers, Officers, and Placemen, intrusted by the Crown with the executive Power of our Government: As Ministers, Officers, and Placemen, named by the Crown, we are the Persons whose Conduct is to be inquired into. Is it not evident then, that these two Characters are incompatible, unless we say, that Parties may be Judges? Sir, it is so evident, that I should be for excluding every Minister, Officer, and Place-

Placeman, from having a Seat in this House, were it not for the Necessity we are under of having some of the chief amongst us, in order to give us proper Information with respect to the great Offices they are at the Head of. If this Question admits of a Variety of Opinions, I am sure every Question in Politicks must, and therefore, great Care should be taken, that those who are to judge of such Questions, shall not be under the least Bias; for the Weight and Efficacy of the Bias will always increase, in Proportion to the Doubtfulness of the Question; which is a new Argument against admitting Placemen and Officers into this House.

We have been told, Sir, that it is impossible to suppose, that Gentlemen of great Fortune and Interest in the Country, will sacrifice the Liberties of their Country for the Sake of a Place they enjoy or expect. Sir, it is so far from being impossible to suppose this, that it is a common Case. It has always been the Case in every Country where the Liberties of the People have been sacrificed. The Liberties of no Country can be sacrificed, without the Concurrence of many Gentlemen of Family, Fortune and Interest, and a criminal Indolence or Passivity in the rest. Some are led, contrary to the Light of their own Understandings, by their Avarice, Vanity, Luxury, or Extravagance; others are deceived by specious Pretences, and led into such Measures, the certain, tho' not the plain and direct Consequences of which, are Slavery and arbitrary Power. With the first Sort of Men, an honourable and profitable Place affords them an immediate Satisfaction for their Avarice, or Vanity, or an immediate Supply for their Luxury or Extravagance, which they prefer to all other Considerations. With the second Sort of Men, an honourable and profitable Place

gives them a Bias to that Side of the Question upon which their Place depends, and prevents their seeing through the specious Pretences that are made use of for supporting that Side of the Question. And thus, between these two Sorts of Men, the Liberties of any Country may probably be given up, if they are committed to the Keeping of those that have honourable and profitable Places, which depend upon their making the Surrender.

B Let us consider, Sir, that even Liberty itself is but a Question in Politicks. Whether a limited or an absolute Monarchy be the best Sort of Government, is but a Question in Politicks; and therefore, as the Hon. Gentleman has said, can admit of no Demonstration. For this Reason, even those that are Gentlemen of Fortune and Interest in their Country, if they be in the least governed by Avarice, Vanity, Luxury, or Extravagance, may, by an honourable and profitable Employment, be induced not only to say and vote, but even to think, that an absolute Monarchy is the best Sort of Government, and that they do a signal Service to their Country, by sacrificing its Liberties. Nay, this very Doctrine has of late been supported in private Conversation, even in this Country, and by Gentlemen of very great Distinction. How natural then is it to suppose, that in political Questions, where our Liberties are not directly and immediately, but indirectly and consequentially concerned, a Gentleman of Distinction may be induced, by an honourable and profitable Employment, to approve of, or give his Assent to the wrong Side of the Question? How natural is it to suppose, that the Members of this House may, by such Means, be induced to grant such Revenues, such Numbers of Troops, and such Powers and Prerogatives to the Crown, as may for ever

ever after put it out of the Power of Parliament to controul any of the King's Measures, or to punish any of his Officers, unless they be such as he may be pleased to throw out of his Protection; and in this Case, whatever Forms of Liberty we might have, I am sure it would be ridiculous to say we had any of the Substance remaining.

Thus, Sir, I think, it is evident almost to a Demonstration, that our Constitution and Liberties not only may, but must be destroyed, unless we shut the Doors of this House against most Placemen and Officers, as we have already done against all Pensioners; and as this is so evident, no Objection that can be invented, no Danger, no Terror, we can be frightened with, shall prevent me from exerting all the Power I have for its being done. Slavery to me is the highest of all Terrors, and therefore, I shall be for guarding against it at the Risk of any other Terror that can be imagined. But I must say, that in this long Debate, I have not heard one plausible Objection made against this Exclusion. To tell us that a just and wise Administration can have no Friends of good Fortune and Interest in their several Countries, but such as have Places or Offices under the Crown, is something very surprizing. If this were the Case, I am sure it must be granted, that the Places and Offices under the Crown are now become infinitely too numerous. But this, Sir, is not, nor ever can be the Case, There are now in every County in England, one with another, 2 or 300 Gentlemen of Family, Fortune and Interest in their several Countries, who have no Places or Offices under the Crown, and who, under a just and wise Administration, would be firm Friends to it, and would be able to support it, in a legal Way, against all the Jacobites, Republicans, and Discontented, that could in such

a Case be within the Kingdom; and among such a Number, could not the Administration find one or two to stand as Candidates upon their Interest at every Election within the County. They certainly might, and their Candidates would have this Advantage, that they would have the Votes and Interest of all those Gentlemen of Fortune within the County who had Places or Offices under the Crown, and could not therefore, themselves, stand as Candidates at any Election. Therefore, should this Bill pass into a Law, no future Administration would be under the Necessity of employing none but Men of low or desperate Fortunes in any Place or Office under the Crown; and, I am sure, no just or wise Administration will ever chuse it.

It has been said, Sir, that we ought not to make any Alteration in our Constitution without an apparent Necessity; and that the Alteration proposed by this Bill cannot appear necessary, unless we suppose such a venal and abandoned Spirit to prevail in the Nation, that most Gentlemen of Family and Fortune amongst us, would be ready to sacrifice the Liberties of their Country, rather than risk losing a good Post or Employment under the Crown. Sir, it is to prevent the Growth of such a venal and abandoned Spirit, that this Bill is intended. When the Crown had but few lucrative Posts to bestow, the most abandoned Administration could not contribute much to the Growth of this Spirit; but the Crown has now such a Number of lucrative Posts to bestow, that if these Posts should be applied to the Purchase of a Gentleman's Vote in this House, or his Interest at Elections, such a Spirit would soon prevail, and at last become universal. It would begin in this House: It would grow by Example: One Gentleman's being corrupted

rupted would not only be an Example, but it would give Countenance to a second; he to a third, and so forth, till at last it would spread through the Majority of this House. From this House it would descend to Elections; for he that sells will purchase, if he can otherwise have nothing to sell. Begin, Sir, at the Fountain: Clear that from Corruption, and the Stream will soon run clear; for if Members cannot sell Votes in Parliament, they will never, or very seldom buy that Commodity at Elections. Their Vanity may sometimes prompt them to do so, but this can happen but seldom, and can never have any great Effect.

I shall not say, Sir, that Placemen have ever approved or opposed Questions in this House, because they were Placemen, and for no other Reason; but this I will say, that the Majority of the Nation thinks they have often done so; and I must observe, that ever since I sat in Parliament, our Placemen have generally been of the same Side with our Ministers: If any of them dropt by Chance in to the other Side of the Question, they have of late Years soon ceased to be Placemen. Nay, even in this House, we have heard it delivered as a ministerial Maxim, that no Man ought to be allowed to keep his Place under the Crown, if he follows the Directions of his Conscience, and votes against any of the Minister's Measures or Jobbs in Parliament. This makes me think the Bill the more necessary: The whole Nation thinks so; and if this Question should pass in the Negative, the whole Nation will think the Bill more necessary than they ever thought it before. They will think it absolutely necessary to have such a Bill, but now not possible to obtain it; which will of Course raise such a Discontent, or perhaps Disaffection, in the Nation, as may be of dan-

gerous Consequence to the present Establishment.

It is really, Sir, most astonishing to hear it said, that the Administration's Interest in the several little Boroughs upon our Coast, depends upon the natural Interest of those that have Places under the Crown. This, I say, is most astonishing, considering how notoriously it is known to be otherwise. I shall grant, that if the Interest made in the little Boroughs by Custom-House Officers, Excisemen, Officers of Dock-Yards, and such like Gentlemen, be a natural Interest, a Clerk of the Treasury or Admiralty may be said to have a great natural Interest in his Borough; but as this Interest depends upon his Post, and not upon his Family or Fortune, I cannot call it a natural Interest. Do not we know, Sir, that many of our little Boroughs are already become so venal, so publickly venal, that their Brokers, or rather their Pimps, deal as openly for the Sale of them, as Bawds do for the Sale of a Prostitute. This infamous Traffick I am for putting an End to; and as the Bill now proposed will be of great Service for this Purpose, I shall be not only for bringing it in, but for having it passed into a Law.

[*This Journal to be continued in our next.*]

C. Sulpicius, in the Character of Edward Southwell, Esq;

Craftsman, Oct. 25. N^o 747.

Machiavel's second Letter from the Dead. (See his first Letter in our *MAGAZINE* for 1734, p. 523.)

Mr. D'Anvers,

ABOUT six Years ago, I gave you some Account how we desunct Statesmen pass away our Time in these lower Regions, by canvassing the Politicks of our Successors, and watching the Revolution of Affairs in your upper World.

In that Letter, I confined myself chiefly to Great Britain, and the wonderful Address of your Ministers in Negotiation, from the Treaty of Hanover down to the last Treaty of Vienna, which establish'd Don Carlos in the Possession of Tuscany, Parma and Placentia, and paved his Way to the Kingdoms of Naples and Sicily.

This Treaty of Vienna being dextrously obtain'd from the Emperor, by your undertaking to guaranty the *pragmatick Sanction*, without the Participation of France; it was easy to foresee that the old crafty Cardinal would resent this Proceeding. The Event answer'd; for the Court of France took this Opportunity of reuniting herself to Spain, which your Ministers had before disunit'd from the Emperor, by the Treaty of Seville; and having gain'd over the King of Sardinia to their Party, attack'd the Emperor with their joint Forces in Italy.

This was attended with a third grand Mis-carriage in your Politicks since the Year 1724, when your late King assured the Parliament, that he was at Peace with all Powers abroad. If therefore your Court had given his Imperial Majesty the least Assistance, upon that extraordinary Occasion, they might have rectify'd their Mistakes in the Hanover and Seville Treaties; for it then was, and still is, the general Opinion of all impartial and sensible Men, that if his British Majesty had taken the Emperor's Part, as Guarantee of his Italian Dominions, the King of Sardinia at least would have withdrawn himself from his secret Engagements with France and Spain. But your standing neuter, and suffering the Emperor to be over-power'd in this unequal War, oblig'd him to patch up a disadvantageous and dishonourable Peace, by consenting to the Cession of Lorain to France, and the rich Kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, with the *Stato del Presidii*, to another Branch of the House of Bourbon, besides some convenient Possessions to the King of Sardinia.

After the Emperor was thus weaken'd, both in Italy and upon the Rhine, without any Succour either from you or Holland, he was drawn into another unsuccessful War with the Ottoman Porte, and reduced to the Necessity of making another disadvantageous Peace, under the Mediation of France, by giving up the strong Fortrefs of Belgrade, and submitting to some other dishonourable Conditions.

During all this Time, your able Statesmen scorn'd to take any Advantage of the Spaniards, by insisting on your pretended Right of a free Navigation in the American Seas, and revenging the barbarous Treatment of your Seamen, or even the Indignities offer'd to your august Monarch himself.

But the Depredations, Insults, and Cruelties of the Spaniards continuing to increase, in proportion to your own Long-suffering, and extraordinary Services perform'd for them; the loud Complaints and Cries of the People for Justice

brought you at last to the very Brink of a War; and it was our general Opinion that your Politicians, with all their Wisdom and Abilities, would not have been able to avoid it. However, we found ourselves mistaken; for those profound Gentlemen staved it off a little time longer by an Expedient, which puzzled all other Statesmen, except themselves, both above and below Ground.

This notable Expedient, call'd the Convention, by way of Eminence, was so far from having the desired Effect, that the Voice of the People was taught almost unanimously to exclaim against it, as the worst Treaty that ever was made, and even to threaten the most illustrious Don Benjamin, the Negotiator of it, with a Prosecution, notwithstanding the Approbation and Thanks of both Houses.—This was certainly owing, as your ministerial Adversaries have often asserted, to a numerous and powerful Junto of factious Patriots and incendiary Writers, whose Clamours have not only deprived your unhappy Merchants of no less a Sum than above 20,000 l. which Spain had agreed to pay them for all their Losses and Sufferings, but involved you in an expensive War.

The War was accordingly proclaim'd against Spain, to the universal Joy of the Nation, and begun with great Vigour and Success, by the Conduct and Bravery of Admiral Vernon, whom Drake and Raleigh call Brother here, with visible Marks of Pleasure and Exultation.

Poor Raleigh, indeed, appear'd a little uneasy, at first, about the scandalous Insinuations and Menaces against his Brother Vernon, for his rough and unmannerly Treatment of the baughty Dons in the West-Indies; but his Countenance immediately clear'd up, as soon as we received Advice of the uncommon Honours, which the just Gratitude of his Countrymen had paid him; upon which he made Use of this remarkable Expression.—Well, I am glad to hear that there is at last a King of Great Britain, who scorns to sacrifice a brave Officer to the Resentment of Spain, and a People eagerly desirous of supporting their Prince in so glorious a Resolution!—To this Blake calmly and modestly reply'd, If my Master, tho' an Usurper, had ever had such a favourable Opportunity against Spain, and such an Admiral as Vernon to execute his Designs, he would have blown up all the Spanish Settlements in the West-Indies, and oblig'd his Enemies to sue for Peace, upon any Terms, instead of endeavouring to arrogate the Sovereignty of those Seas to themselves, against the strongest maritime Power in the whole Universe.

The War being thus gloriously begun, for the Honour of your King and Country, we were every Day in Expectation of having fresh Advices of the Progress of it, both in Europe and America. Our Attention was a long Time fix'd upon those great Commanders, H—, B—

B—n, and *N—s*; whose formidable Armaments and personal Bravery seem'd to threaten the very Foundations of the *Spanish* Monarchy, in both Parts of the World. I'll assure you, Mr. *D'Anvers*, that the most eminent *quondam* Ministers and Statesmen of *Spain*, who are now amongst us, look'd very blank upon this Occasion, and very seldom appear'd in Publick, till it was confirm'd that one of those *puissant Ad—ls* had done nothing, for above *two Years*, besides shifting from Port to Port; that another was sent for from his Station to command an *honourable Convey*; and that the third return'd to the *English* Shore, without so much as attempting to get out of *your own Channel*.

But what gave our *Spanish Dons* the most agreeable Surprize of all, was the News that the *Ferrel* Squadron had made its Escape, without any Opposition; and the Report that the *Brest* and *Toulon* Fleets were sail'd to meet them at some proper Place of Rendezvous. We long to hear that they are actually join'd, and to what Part of the World they are bound. In the mean Time, it is observ'd that old *Gundomar* never hears *Vernon's* Name mention'd, without casting his Eye upon *Ralsigb*, and seeming to intimate, with a sullen Smile, that we shall soon have his Company here.

It must be allow'd, on all Sides, that you have lost a great deal of Time, at least, and many Advantages, which you might have taken against *Spain*, by a seasonable Reinforcement of Admiral *Vernon* with Ships, naval Stores, Provisions, and a small Body of Land-Forces, before the *Spanish* Fleet was suffer'd to depart from *Ferrel* and *Cadix*. But we are all at a Loss to guess how it was possible for the old *Cardinal*, with all his Craft, to equip *two powerful Squadrons*, without the Knowledge of your profound Statesmen, who were always famous for penetrating into the deepest Secrets of the Cabinet.

These are some of our posthumous Reflections upon the present State of Affairs in *your upper World*; but as the *Art of Politicks* is wonderfully improved, and almost inverted since my Time, I must submit to the wiser Judgments of your *modern Machiavels*, with whom I am not able to contend either in *speculative*, or *practical Negotiation*.—The present *French Minister* is, no doubt, a tolerable good Statesman, according to the old Scantling; but whilst the three chosen Tribes of *R—n*, *H—ce*, and *Bej—n*, have the Ascendency in your Councils, they will certainly out-wit him in all his Schemes and Projects, as they have already done the most consummate Statesmen in *Europe*.

We have strange Rumours, indeed, about the present State of *your interior Government*, and the Circumstances of your domestic Affairs; particularly with Relation to your *approaching Elections of Members to serve in Par-*

liament, as you call it.—But this may be the Subject of another Letter, when an authentic Account of these Transactions arrives to us below.

I am your ghostly Friend and Servant,
N. MACHIAVEL.

A Common Sense, Nov. 1. N^o 195.

Arguments made use of against the Repeal of the TRIENNIAL ACT. (See p. 495.)

ACCORDING to the best Judgment that can be form'd, if the Bill for repealing the triennial Act should pass into a Law, the World will think we are guilty of a most notorious Breach of that Trust reposed in us by those who sent us here, and are going to make a dangerous Step towards undermining our Constitution; and therefore if we did believe it would be conducive to several good Ends, that ought not to be sufficient to gain our Consent thereto; for those Ends, however desirable, cannot be equivalent to such a Price as giving up, or making a dangerous Step towards intirely giving up the *British* Constitution.

Let us examine a little what has been the antient Constitution of Parliament, and how the same stands chang'd at this Time.

Before the Reign of *Harry VIII.* there was no single Instance of a Prorogation of Parliament. Parliaments had only one Session, and those very short, none of which ever lasted a Year. To prevent the Mischief of long Intervals, it was enacted, in the 4th Year of *Edward III.* that Parliaments should be holden annually; which was confirm'd by subsequent Acts; and therefore it may be affirm'd, that by the antient Constitution, Parliaments were to be of the Continuance only of one Session, and that the Crown had no Right to prorogue the same; we may affirm this (I say) with as strong Reason, as we can affirm that the eldest Son, after the Death of his Father, shall inherit as Heir at Law, to the Lands in Fee-simple.

But it has been said, That it is no Proof that the Crown has no Power of proroguing Parliaments, or of continuing the same Parliament for several Sessions, altho' there were no Instances thereof, until the Reign of *Harry VIII.*

If this Objection hath any Weight, it will hold against any Part of common Law, which hath hitherto remain'd uncontested; and by the same Way of reasoning the younger Sons may say, that altho' there hath been no Instance that any of them hath inherited to Lands in Fee-simple, equally with the eldest, yet this is no Proof against their Right of making such a Claim, or of having it determined in their Favour. If such a Case should be brought into *Westminster-Hall*, it is certain there is no Act of Parliament which settles the

the Point; yet sure no Man will pretend to affirm, but that the Judges are strictly tied down to adjudge according to constant and uninterrupted Usage.

It is certain, that frequent new Parliaments were always looked upon as necessary towards preserving our Liberties; and it still appears so evident to me, that it is easy to prove that our Liberties would not be so precarious under an absolute Monarchy, as with a House of Commons which had a Right to sit either many Years together, or without Limitation of Time; for a Prince who stood only on his own absolute Authority, assisted with his Ministers and a few Troops, would think himself pretty much upon his good Behaviour towards the united Body of his People, and would be cautious of exercising his Power in such a Manner as to give a just Provocation for a Revolt, and setting up another in his Stead; but a Prince with a Parliament at his Devotion would be infinitely more terrible, and might with Security give a Loose to every Extravagance of Power; for when those that are chosen to be Guardians of the Peoples Liberties, can be prevail'd upon, for private Advantages to themselves, to betray that Trust, and come into all the Measures of a designing Ministry, the Liberties of the People are in imminent Danger; and surely there is great Reason to apprehend, that a House of Commons might soon become obedient to a Ministry, if there was no near Day in View of a new Election, when the Conduct of every Gentleman in the House is to be enquired into by his Country.

It will not be denied but that it is possible for a Ministry, by Pensions and Preferments to some, by Expectations raised in others, and by bribing returning Officers, to obtain a Majority intirely, blindly at their Devotion, even at the first Meeting of a Parliament; and that by a Committee of Elections, chosen for that Purpose, their Party may be increas'd. Such a Parliament must be so far from protecting the publick Liberties, and becoming the Terror of evil Ministers, as to become themselves the Tools of Oppression in the Hands of such a Ministry, by their Authority to consecrate the worst Actions, and declare every Patriot who endeavours to stem the Tide of Corruption, an Enemy to the Constitution.

Tho' we may have a good Parliament at present, its Continuance (notwithstanding the intended Law) must still depend on the Pleasure of the Prince; for it does not appear that any Member is inclin'd to move for a Clause, that the Parliament shall not be dissolv'd without its own Consent. If by ill Advice to his Majesty, a Change should happen, might not the Continuance of a Ministry and another Parliament prove of infinite Prejudice to the Nation? Surely it must be Wisdom, in making this or any Law, not to consider some

little present Conveniency, but the general Tendency of the same.

I think a Man may be warranted to say, that there is no stronger Evidence for any Part of the common Law, than that frequent new Parliaments were Part of our Constitution: That the same was built, and stands upon as solid a Foundation, as any Law ever did or can do, being absolutely necessary and essential to the Liberties of a free People.

It is true, *Harry VIII.* in the 23d Year of his Reign, prorogued the Parliament, which was the first Instance of this Kind; and succeeding Princes have more or less continued the Practice; but sure no Man will from hence infer, that the Crown had always a Right to do so. The contrary evidently appears by what is here mention'd; but it is remarkable that this having been the first Instance of a Prorogation, it was thought convenient to strengthen the farther Continuance of that Parliament by an Adjournment also.

If the Crown, before the Time here mention'd, had not a Power of continuing the same Parliament by Prorogation, it will not be easy to shew how they came legally by it since; sure I am there is no Act of Parliament, which vests such a Power in the Crown, and Prescription immemorial is on the other Side. The Short of the Matter seems to be no more than this, a very arbitrary Prince, the better to serve the Ends he then had in View, boldly invades the Liberties of his People, usurps a new Prerogative unheard of before—that Parliament tamely submits thereto, either out of Fear, or for baser Reasons; probably, they were pleas'd with a longer Continuance, and the agreeable Prospect of sharing in the Advantages of the Laws they were afterwards to make, I mean the Dissolution of Abbeys—and tho' thereby the Foundation of our happy Reformation was laid, yet that is entirely owing to another Cause, and in no wise to the pious Intentions of that Prince, or of that Parliament.

This new Prerogative being at first used with Caution, the fatal Tendency thereof was not so soon discover'd. When it became strengthen'd in the Crown by Time, and the Acquiescence of the Nation, it was much more difficult to get rid of the Innovation, than it wou'd have been at first to have prevented it.

But sure no Man will say, that, from a Power so assumed, and so continued, it will follow that it ought to be so at this Day; and I must say, that, whatever Arguments can be brought to support that Doctrine, will equally justify any other Part of arbitrary Power; for, upon any new Act of Power, it is but saying the Crown had always a Right to it, tho' it was never claim'd before, and some Parliaments may be complaisant enough

to acquiesce therein, which perhaps might be ashamed, by a new express Law, barefaced and unmask'd, to give up the Liberties of their Country; and such an Argument wou'd be as good a Pretence for setting up any new Prerogative, as the Power of Proroguing at first had.

Let us examine the antient Laws of *England* in Matters of Imprisonment, and compare it with the Practice some Time before the *Habeas Corpus* Act; he must be quite abandon'd to the Notions of Slavery, that will maintain that it was ever in the Power of the Prince, by the Laws of *England*, to imprison any of his Subjects during his Will and Pleasure, and without just Reasons assign'd. By our Laws they were not to be imprison'd unless charg'd with Crimes; they were to be try'd for the same, or discharg'd from their Imprisonment in a reasonable Time; without this, our Constitution must have differ'd little from the Slavery of *Turky*; the Bowstring, an expeditious Death, is preferable to dying by a lingering Confinement; and yet, notwithstanding this, it is certain that many Persons had been imprison'd illegally and arbitrarily, to gratify the Malice and Revenge of wicked Ministers; and the Advocates for Slavery did as strictly insist on the Legality of this Power, as upon any other which was claim'd by the Crown; so that the *Habeas Corpus* was not introductive of a new Law, but declaratory of an old. It is hard to fix the exact Time when this Power of imprisoning was first exercised; but by the best Accounts we can trace, it seems to be of the same Age with the Power of proroguing Parliaments.

It was a fatal Omission at the Revolution, that we did not, by the Claim of Rights, retrieve, and fix for ever the antient Constitution of annual new Parliaments.—It is true, it was obtain'd in some Part, by an Act made a few Years after, for holding triennial new Parliaments: It was then pretended, that this triennial Act was an Innovation, and that the repealing it would be restoring the antient Constitution. Sure nothing cou'd be a greater Misrepresentation, nothing cou'd be farther from the Truth of Fact, than to call that an Innovation, which only brought us a little nearer to our antient Constitution; the antient Constitution was broke into in the Manner here set forth, and we were in Part restored to it by this Act. But supposing it had been a new Grant, if it was found by Experience that no Mischief could flow from it, either to the Crown or the People, was it reasonable to part with it, only to enlarge the Power of Ministers, and set them above the Fears of Punishment? By the same Way of Reasoning we ought to give up the *Habeas Corpus* Act, and all the other Privileges we ever obtain'd from the Crown, from *Magna Charta* down to this Day.

Craftsman, Nov. 1. N^o 748.

Mr. D'Anvers,

THE ministerial Hirelings have lately been very busy in proving the Virtue of their Patron, and recommending the wholesome Use of Corruption.—One of them sets out with this notorious Falshood. "There is nothing more commonly asserted, by such as oppose the Administration, than that the Power of the Crown is now greater than ever." If there ever had been any Truth, or Decency, in the Compositions of these Writers, they must have made a Difference, before this Assertion had been advanced, between the Power of Prerogative and ministerial Influence. Nobody hath ever said, to the best of my Remembrance, that the former runs in general so high now, as it hath done in some Reigns preceding the Revolution; tho' from a few Years after that Period, by the Number of penal Laws made every Session, the Power of Prerogative hath been every Year increasing; which I believe some of the most thinking, and the most sincere Friends to Liberty, and to the present Establishment, wish otherwise, and would be glad to see the Laws less severe, and more punctually executed.

But this is not the great Point now in Agitation; nor what the People of *England* have instructed their Members to get redress'd. It is not the legal Power of Prerogative, but illicit Practices upon their own Representatives, from which they seem to dread the most immediate Danger.

Several Instances and Circumstances are produced to shew that the Power of the Crown is now abated. But may not Power be taken from one Hand and given to another? Whenever these Powers were taken from the Crown, I suppose it was for the Service of the People. It is consequently for the Service of the People, that the Crown should remain under the same Limitations; for we have no Reason to think that the Ministers of this Age will make a better Use of Power than the Ministers of former Ages; and all the Struggles of our Ancestors to limit the Crown must prove abortive, if the same Powers should subsist in the Shape of ministerial Influence.—As for Instance,

Of what Service will it prove to the Freedom of Parliaments, that the Crown should desist from the ancient Practice of creating new Boroughs, if Ministers should ever be allow'd to chuse Members? May not exorbitant civil Lists, Excise Offices, standing Armies, and several other new Powers of the Crown, give a Minister as much Command as the Court of Wards ever did? May not Translations give as much Influence over Bishops, in Times to come, as the Change of Ecclesiastical Lands did, in former Times? And have not Judges additional Salaries, which are not *durante vita*, or *quamdiu se bene gesserint*?

By

By the frequent Use of *Quo-Warranto's*, *Non-obstantes*, &c. some former Proceedings were very oppressive in *Westminster-Hall*. But if a *Minister* should ever be able to put a Negative upon the Determination of *Thousands*, by corrupt Practices upon a *Doxen*, will the Oppression be farther removed than from one Court to another?

If the *Mausoleum* of the immortal *K. William* must be sacrilegiously broke open, in Search of one single *ASH*, done in so much Secrecy, as only to occasion Conjectures and Suspicions; will that justify publick Corruption as the wholesome Means of Government? Could that great Prince have ever imagined that his Defence of *Liberty*, upon a particular Exigency, would have been turn'd into a tinsel Ornament for general and avow'd Bribery; or that his great Character would ever have been mention'd as a Precedent of Corruption to future Ages? If we may judge of him from the Glory of his other Actions, we may venture to pronounce that he would sooner have lost his *Life* and *Crown*, than have ever consented to the publick Exercise of Corruption, at least.

So eminent were the Virtues of the illustrious *Q. Elizabeth*, that I should be glad to close my Eyes to her Faults. But since it must be otherwise, I do acknowledge that she did, in many Cases, govern in too haughty and arbitrary a Manner; to which the People submitted, because they found her Power was conducted with Wisdom, and directed to advance the Honour and Interest of the Nation. But this Behaviour proved very unhappy for her Successors; who, assuming the same Authority, and not conducting it to the same good Ends, a few Years afterwards there fell out a fatal Period, both to the *Crown* and *People*.

Let us proceed to examine another Argument, in order to prove the low State of Privilege from the Necessity of Corruption.—“Does any Man corrupt another, who can command him; or do we give Fees to those, who are Dependents on ourselves?”—To this let me add another Question.—After the Bribe is received, who commands the Person; he, who gives, or receives it?—It would be a very difficult Matter to determine who was the most dishonest Man, the Corruptor, or Corrupted; but it is very easy to say which is the most abject Slave.

The *Virgin* commands, whilst she preserves her Innocence; but as soon as she yields to the Temptations of her Seducer, she gives up her Honour, Dignity, and Power.—It is therefore from the frequent Success of ministerial Temptations, that the People of England are desirous to secure the Chastity of their Representatives.

A little lower, in the same Paper, are these Words.—“If I give my Friend's Servant Money to encourage him in his Duty, it is Generosity.”—I would not willingly misin-

terpret the Words of another Person; but I think the foregoing Lines cannot bear any other Construction than the following, viz. that if a Minister gives a Sum of Money to a Member of Parliament, to support his Schemes, it is not Corruption, but Generosity.

But in the next Paragraph, we shall find a much franker Confession. “If therefore, notwithstanding the Growth of the Inconvenience, as certainly Faction hath been always increasing, those at the Helm have found Means to drive on the Government for a long Course of Years, without any of those Rubs, to which (when the Machine was free) it was nevertheless exposed by Carelessness, or Want of Capacity, in former Managers: Must we condemn their Conduct?—Their Enemies may call it Corruption, nay Weakness, or Folly; but impartial Posterity, and even themselves, (if once in Power) will esteem it Wisdom.—Such shallow Politicians as set up on Utopian Systems, and think all Things may be managed by certain Rules, and Maxims of State, will condemn what they cannot understand. But all proper Judges, such as practical Statesmen, will form a right Notion of it in their Heads, tho' they may not, for certain prudential Reasons, think proper to explain them.”—If this publick Declaration is not very honest, it is at least very open; and I believe we may reasonably conclude, that the Writer, whoever he is, hath not mistaken the Sentiments of his Patron.

I shall not make any farther Comments upon this Paper, but leave it to the Judgment of our Countrymen, according to the Explanation of a Gazetteer, to chuse Freedom, or ministerial Influence.

A. B.

To Robert Trefusis and Kellond Courtenay, Esqrs.

E Gentlemen,

WE the Mayor, Aldermen and Capital Burgesses of the Borough of *Truro*, amidst that Torrent of Corruption that almost overwhelm'd this County, at the last general Elections, stood undefiled, and therefore chose you for our Representatives, whom we can now thank for your steady and constant Adherence to the true Interest of your Country. It is with Pleasure we have observ'd, from your past Conduct, how much you are convinced the Liberties of this Nation exist, by the Independency of its Parliaments; but, at the same Time, it is with the utmost Sorrow we observe the same scandalous and open Attempts, daily made, all around us, to procure Placemen to be again elected, in the ensuing Parliament. Should the vast Sums of publick Money, in the Hands of the Administration, be once more able to effect this; what fatal Consequences may we not expect from so exorbitant a Number of Placemen, always subservient

servient to the Nod of a self-sufficient and over-bearing Minister.

The next Step to limiting the Number of Placemen, for the Security of our Liberties, is, to shorten the Duration of Parliaments: Long Parliaments afford infinite Opportunities to the Wicked and Designing, to put their most pernicious Schemes in Execution, and must, at last, end in the utter Destruction of our Liberties. These Grievances, it's true, have often been loudly complain'd of, and the Endeavours to remedy them have as often, hitherto, prov'd ineffectual: But these melancholy Instances only convince us, how justly our Fears are grounded.

We therefore think it incumbent upon us to enjoin and insist, that you give a strict and due Attendance, at the next Sessions, and use your utmost Efforts to get these crying Evils effectually redress'd, and such Efforts can never be exerted on a more important Occasion; and by your so doing, whatever may be the Fate of your Endeavours, we shall at least have this pleasing Satisfaction, that those, whom we entrusted with our Rights and Liberties, have contributed all in their Power to prevent the impending Ruin of our Country.

Given under our Common Seal the 9th of October 1740.

Common Sense, Nov. 8. N° 196.

Of encouraging ARTS and SCIENCES.

NEXT to enriching the Nation at home, by Manufactures and Commerce, and asserting its Honour and Interest Abroad, one would think, it should be the Care of every Administration, to adorn it, by the Encouragement and Improvement of liberal Arts and Sciences. Self-Love at least, (if no nobler Motive) should naturally produce this Effect; Arts and Sciences being always grateful to their Patrons, and transmitting with Lustre to Posterity, the Names of those to whom they owed their Rise or Perfection. This, in Truth, has always been the Case, and we may observe in every Country, that Arts and Sciences have constantly been the second Care of every Governemene, that made the Honour and Interest of the Nation its first.

Augustus Caesar left nothing to be added, either to the *Roman Empire*, or to Arts and Sciences; and even counted the beautifying of *Rome* among the Glories of his long Reign; and *Levis XIV.* acquired as much Honour to himself, and, it may be, more real Advantages to his Kingdom, by his generous Protection of Arts and Sciences, than by his Conquests; he has rendered the *French Language* almost the universal Language of *Europe*, and has made *France* the Standard of Fashion at least, to every other Nation; from which two Articles alone, very great

and real Advantages have arisen to that Kingdom, to the Prejudice of almost every other.

There never was a Time, in which the Generality of a Nation was more inclined to encourage Arts and Sciences, than this Nation seems to be at present; as appears by the numerous and liberal Subscriptions of Individuals, to whatever wears but their Name. But this Encouragement is too lavish and indiscriminate, and as often the Effect of Solicitation, Acquaintance or Charity, as the Reward of Merit. Whereas, such a general Disposition ought to be centered into proper Establishments; where the Care and Expence of those in the Government should take the Lead, and lay the first Stone; but I must, with Concern and Surprize, acknowledge, that not one single Instance of this Kind has appeared.

I am the more surpriz'd at this, when I consider the Individuals who compose the present glorious Ad———n, and who possess all the Qualifications necessary to form compleat *Mecenas's*; their profound Erudition, their exquisite Judgment, their delicate Taste, their liberal Manners, their polite Address, and the pleasing Urbanity and Atticism of their Conversation, seem to promise Arts and Sciences all the Encouragement and Perfection of the several Reigns of *Augustus Caesar*, and *Levis XIV.* I can therefore only suppose, that their great Avocations to Politicks, Treaty-making, Hunting, War, Gin, Stockjobbing, Armies, Excises, Conventions, Elections, Preliminaries and Pot-Acts, have engrossed all their Time, and left no Room as yet for their second Cares.

I know the Creatures of one particular Person of the Ad———n, or if you will, of the Ad———n of one particular Person, boast his Patronage and Protection of Letters. But this I can only admit in the literal Sense, and not in the metaphorical and common Acceptation of the Term; the Works of his Authors, in Truth, consisting only of the four and twenty Letters fortuitously placed, so that it may more properly be called an Encouragement of the Type-makers, than of Learning.

Another Instance in which I am assured that this great Person manifests his Love of Letters, is, the considerable Salaries, and Rewards, which he gives to certain curious and skillful Persons, to examine, collate and transcribe, the several Manuscripts of that invaluable publick Library, the *Pest-Office*: But this Mark of his Attention, far from proving an Encouragement, has, as I am informed, been a great Check to Letters, and discouraged the very best Writers.

As for a certain Junto of Persons of Honour who have of late obliged the Publick with their Poetical Labours, such as incomparable obscene Disfigurations of *Horace*; Ballads well seasoned

seasoned with Bawdry, and other casual Performances of equal Emolument to the Publick, I say, I cannot look upon that Junto as his Authors; nor the Share they enjoy of his Favour, as the Reward of their Poetical, but of their Political Abilities; not but that if one were to judge of that Gentleman's Taste of Poetry, by his Taste of Prose, it would not be impossible but that he might have settled that Triumvirate, for his *Poetical Gazetteers*.

However, I rather think they recommend themselves to his Favour, by the *Monosyllabical Performances*, he being the generous and avowed Patron of the Monosyllables, or (as some Critics write it) the *Money-syllables*, those Gentlemen being peculiarly happy in the right Use and Application of them.

I don't know whether the Hon. Gentleman does, but I really do, lament that he will not have fair Play with Posterity for his Reputation: His *Gazetteers* are either *still born*, or *die* before they have attained to *Reason*, or *English*; they live at most but from Candle to Candle; from that they were produced, to that they wrap up, and expire, like the *Phoenix*, in the Flames to which they owed their Birth. The Labours of the Laureat, though Originals in their Kind, yet being detached Pieces, may possibly be all buried in a Place I don't care to name; and to use his own happy metaphorical Style, will scarce ever arrive as *Messengers to the Kits of Posterity*. And the Oracles formerly delivered from the Mercenary Tripos of his *Robinizing P*——, have long since ceased. So that upon the whole, Posterity will not receive one Scrap of Paper in his Favour; whereas, on the other hand, many of those Writings, in which he is not very advantageously delineated, will be preserved and read, while Wit and Learning are tolerated or tasted in this Kingdom. In what a Light then must he inevitably, tho' unjustly, appear to Posterity? Innumerable Volumes remaining, filled with the strongest Charges of Peculate, Oppression, Falshood, Nepotism, Ignorance, Pusillanimity, &c. and not five righteous Lines being found to save him, notwithstanding that a River of Ink hath been exhausted in Encomiums and Adulation upon him.

The Utrecht Gazette gave us the following Declaration, which, it says, is to be published in America, by Lord Cathcart.

THE King of Great Britain, my Master, having found himself obliged to declare War against the King of Spain, and being resolved, with the Assistance of Almighty God, to take Vengeance for the Insults and barbarous Depredations committed on his Subjects, whereby their lawful Trade and Navigation have been unjustly interrupted; has ordered me to invade, attack and reduce to his Obedi-

ence, the Colonies, Castles, Places, and Kingdoms or Provinces belonging to the said King of Spain in the Indies, which shall appear to me to be most convenient: But his Majesty being persuaded at the same Time, that the said Injuries and Depredations much more proceeded from the Malice and Counsels of some particular Persons in Spain and the Indies, than from the general Inclination of the Spanish Nation, between which and his Subjects there has subsisted (except of late Years) a Conformity of Interests and Councils, a continual Commerce and amicable Correspondence cultivated and maintained to their reciprocal Utility and Satisfaction; has, out of his Goodness been pleased to mix Mercy with Correction, and give Room to the Innocent to distinguish themselves from the Guilty: For which Purpose, I have Orders from the King my Master, to declare, as I hereby declare in his Royal Name, offer and promise all Persons, Spaniards, Mulattos, Negroes, Indians, whether Ecclesiasticks or Laymen, that those who, within a certain Term after the Publication of this Declaration, and before any Hostility committed on their Part against the Forces of the King my Master, shall freely and peaceably put themselves under his Protection, clement Administration and Government, shall be received, protected and maintained in their Lands, Houses, Possessions, and all other Effects belonging to them, of what Nature soever they be, in the same Manner as if they were his own natural Subjects, and shall likewise enjoy the free Exercise of their Religion, in the same Manner as they do at present. They shall be freed from Imposts, *Alcavalas*, Duties, &c. and from all the other Oppressions which they now suffer from the Nature and Form of the Government established in the Spanish Indies. The Indians in particular shall be delivered from the Royal Tributes and Services they are subject to; they shall have the Privilege and Right of Trading directly with Great Britain, and all the British Colonies in America; and in fine, in all Respects, they shall be regarded, succour'd, favour'd, and treated as the Natives of Great Britain.

But on the contrary, those who shall refuse, resist, or obstinately delay to accept of these clement Offers, must reckon themselves in the Number of the Guilty, and expect all the Severities that may be exercised in a just War, undertaken by a magnanimous Prince, and a provok'd Nation, to revenge the undeserved Injuries and Depredations which they received so many Years together.

The French King's MANIFESTO, concerning the Departure of the Brest and Toulon Squadrons.

SINCE the Departure of the Brest and Toulon Squadrons, so many different Re-

ports have been spread, especially in *England*, concerning the Motives to that Resolution, as well as concerning the King's Intentions in the present Conjunction, that it has appear'd necessary to put his Majesty's Ministers abroad in a Condition to set in a clear Light the Principles of his Conduct to this Day, and the End he proposes to himself.

It was not without a great deal of Concern that the King saw, in the Year 1738, the Seeds of Diffension growing up between *Spain* and *England*: The opening the Conferences at *Madrid* gave some Hopes of an Accommodation; but the unforeseen breaking off of these Conferences made us suspect that *England* was very averse to all pacifick Sentiments; and the Hostilities begun in *America* by the *English* Nation, before the Declaration of War could be known there, no longer permitted us to doubt of her Intentions.

Nevertheless, the King judged he ought to wait the Consequences of this War before he took any Resolution: The Views of the *English* Nation were not as yet fully manifested: It might be thought that the Heat of the People had precipitated her Steps; that in the main she had no other Aim but to revenge the pretended Vexations of the *Spanish* *Guarda Costas*; and that when the first Ferment was over, both Parties would resume the Methods of Reconciliation.

It is not that *France* had not on her Side Grievances to alledge against *England*, perhaps more considerable than those which kindled up the War between the Catholick King and the King of *Great Britain*: Several *French* Vessels stop'd, visited and rummaged, as well in *Europe* as in *America*: Their Letters taken and carried off, against the Law of Nations and the Faith of Treaties; and other Violences still more notorious, of which Complaints were made in vain, might have excited the King to do himself Justice: But his Majesty dissembled all those Infractions, and would not even permit the *French* Privateers to assist in any Shape in disturbing the *English* Navigation: Objects of still greater Importance were necessary for overcoming his Majesty's Moderation.

Hitherto the *English* had carried on the War only by Sea, but it was not long before they form'd Enterprizes upon the Continent. The taking of *Porto Bello* was follow'd by that of *Cibagua*; the Demolition of these two Forts opened a Door for all their contraband Trade, in Prejudice to the Commerce of all Nations; and their Armaments encreased to such a Degree as to create the greatest Uneasiness about what they might afterwards attempt.

At that Time the *British* Ambassador was forewarn'd, in the King's Name, that whatever Patience *France* had shewn in Expectation that Satisfaction would have been made her for

the irregular and violent Proceedings of several *English* Officers, it ought not to be thought that she would remain a quiet Spectator of the Enterprizes which the *English* might form in *America*; nor that the King would suffer them to make any Settlement in the *Spanish* *Indies*. This Declaration was known by all the foreign Ministers residing at the King's Court; it was renew'd from Time to Time, as we saw that the Preparations against *America* more plainly discover'd Projects of Conquest; and the *British* Ambassador giving no Answer on so important an Affair, the King judg'd he could no longer delay arming his Ships, in order to put himself in a Condition to prevent a Danger which became every Day more imminent.

In fine, *England* made no longer a Mystery of her Designs, when she thought her Measures so well taken that it would be impossible to oppose them. She embark'd 8000 regular Troops in order to join those raised in her Colonies. The Nation doubting no longer of Success, gave out the Conquest of the *Houanab* as a Thing certain. Admiral *Vernon* formally declar'd by his Letter of the 8th of last May to the Commandant of the *French* Part of the Island of *Dominica*, that he had Orders to take *Carthagena*; and the Manifesto deliver'd to Lord *Catcart* in order to be publish'd in *America*, which they troubled their Heads no longer to keep a Secret, has at last plainly evinced what those prodigious Armaments tended to, of which the World had never yet seen an Example.

Then it was that the King found there was not a Moment to be lost, for putting an Obstacle to Projects, the Execution of which would destroy all the Treaties and Conventions made, as well at the Congress of *Utrecht* as since, for the Balance of Trade in *Europe*. His Majesty has nothing else in View but to maintain the said Conventions: The Orders he has given to the *Marquess d'Antin* tend to that sole End, his Majesty having expressly enjoin'd him not to interrupt the lawful Commerce of the *English* Merchants, and to let all the Commandants and Governors of the *French* Colonies know, that such are the Intentions of his Majesty, which they are strictly to conform to.

At the same Time his Majesty has taken some Precautions at the Towns of *Porient* and *Dunkirk*, to prevent any Surprise from the *English* Corsairs; the Insults which our Ships had met with, even at the Time of *France's* entire Impartiality, rendering at present those Precautions still more necessary.

Such is, according to the strictest Truth, the Conduct observ'd by his Majesty to this Day, nor can any Fact be alleg'd to the contrary. Nevertheless the Court of *London* has express'd herself in the sharpest Manner concerning the pretended Works made at *Dunkirk*, as if the Court of *France* said in the solemn

Engagements she contracted by the Treaty of Utrecht.

It is easy to judge, after this Exposition, on what Side is the Infraction of Treaties, whether on France's Side, who has contented herself with planting four Batteries of Cannon at Dunkirk, without raising up any Fortification, nor making any Sort of Works, even declaring that those Batteries shall be destroy'd as soon as Tranquillity is restor'd; or whether it is on the Side of the Court of London, who no longer conceals the Plan she has form'd for invading openly all the Commerce of the New World.

Craftsman, Nov. 15. N^o 750.

Extract from a Pamphlet, Printed, but not publicly Sold, in the Year 1730, Intitl'd, The Case of Dunkirk faithfully stated and impartially consider'd.

WHETHER the Demolition of Dunkirk does, in a great Measure, secure exactly Seven-ninths of the Trade of England from the Power of France at Sea, as it has been asserted, I shall not trouble myself to calculate; neither shall I examine nicely how far this Port may justly be deem'd our Rival in Time of Peace, by supporting some considerable Branches of the French Manufactures, and by carrying on a Trade to the West-Indies, which has been insisted upon likewise. In general it will not be denied, that the French have annoy'd our Trade, and promoted their own extremely, by the convenient Situation and other Advantages of the Port of Dunkirk.

To make therefore a true Judgment in the present Case, it is sufficient to prove the following Propositions.

1. The declared Sense of the British Nation, at the Time of making the last Treaty of Peace with France, was, that Dunkirk should be no more either a fortified City, a fortified Port, or even an unfortified Harbour.

2. France consented to the Demolition of Dunkirk in this Sense, and engaged never to restore it again in any one of these Respects.

These Propositions are fully proved by the 9th Article of the Treaty of Utrecht; by which Great Britain required, and France consented, that all the Fortifications of the City of Dunkirk should be rais'd; those towards the Sea in 2 Months, those towards the Land in 3 Months. Thus far the Article stipulates the Demolition of Dunkirk as a fortified City and as a fortified Port, and if no more had been intended, no more would have been said; but the Article says a great deal more; it says expressly that the Harbour shall be fill'd up, and that the Sluices or Moles, which serve to cleanse the Harbour shall be levelled. The naked Harbour itself was therefore to be destroy'd, as well as the Fortifications towards the Land and towards the Sea. After all these Stipulations follow this express Condition, That the said Fortifica-

tions, Harbour, Moles, or Sluices be never repaired again. So that France has never had, since the Treaty of Utrecht, nor can have, while that Treaty subsists, any more Right to open, or by Reparations to help to open the Harbour of Dunkirk, than she has to rebuild the Fortifications of that City.

A The late Q. Anne was so solicitous to have this principal Part of the Article effectually perform'd, that when she sent her Commissioners to Dunkirk to see the Demolition of that Place executed, she gave them the most particular Instructions imaginable on this Head. They were not only to see the Moles, and Jettees, and Keys, and Sluices demolish'd, but they were to see the Stones belonging to them, even the Stones of the Keys for shipping and unshipping Goods, thrown into the Canal or Harbour, the more effectually to spoil the same and render it impracticable for the future. They were to see the Channel of each Sluice fill'd up with Earth from the next Rampart, till it was made level with the Streets. Nay they were to see the Road, which lies before the Entrance of the Harbour, spoil'd as much as possible; and the Reason for this particular Instruction is there given, to prevent as much as possible any Ships coming in for the future.

C The late King of France had tried, by his Ministers at Utrecht, and even by a direct and strong Application from himself to the late Queen, while the Treaty was in Negotiation, to have the Rigour of the 9th Article, in some Degree, softned. He did not desire that any Thing, which had been erected to fortify the Town, or make and preserve the Harbour, should be spared, but hoped and press'd that the Queen would allow one Sluice to be left, which had been erected, as it was then pretended, by the People of the Country, before he fortified the Place, to carry off the Waters, and save the low Lands from Inundations. Even this Application proved fruitless. The Article was insisted upon, and was accordingly pass'd without any Exception.

D Not discouraged by this, the Inhabitants of Dunkirk sent over a Deputy, who was warmly supported by the Ambassador of France. Several fresh Instances were made, and all Endeavours were used to move the Queen's Compassion, by desiring, as a Grace, what they pretended no Right to by Treaty, that the Sluice of Furnes at least might be preserved, to carry the Waters off from the Country, and to preserve the Town from Filth, Stench, and the Consequence thereof, Infection.

But the Queen, who was resolv'd that Dunkirk should have neither a fortified Port, nor even a naked Harbour, knew by the Reports of her Commissioners, that Mr. Armstrong, one of their Number, absolutely denied the Necessity of preserving those Sluices, in order to discharge the Waters of the Country.

She was informed likewise, by the Report of the same Commissioners, that if any of the Sluices remained, it would be impossible to prevent the Harbour from being kept open; whereas if they were all destroy'd, a small Space of Time would effectually fill up the Harbour. She continued therefore inflexible, and besides several other Answers to the same Effect, given to the French Ambassador, and to the Deputy of Dunkirk, upon these Occasions, a Secretary of State was ordered, upon one of them, to write to the British Minister at Paris, to acquaint that Court, That the Queen will insist that, by the Treaty, all Things are to be destroyed, quæ eluendo Portui interserviunt, which serve to cleanse the Harbour: That no Distinction is therein made of what contributes accidentally and what directly to this Purpose: That the French Ministers had insisted at Utrecht to have such an Exception inserted in the Treaty; that it was positively refused, and that they submitted: That under a charitable Pretence of saving the Country, the French would save the Harbour: In short, that he must let Monsieur de Torcy feel, and by him the King, that the Queen sees plainly the Correspondence between his Officers and the People of the Town, who are unwilling to lose their Harbour.

Thus the Intention of the late Queen, and of those who negotiated, by her Orders, the Treaty of Utrecht, was to destroy Dunkirk for ever, not only as a Fortress, but as a Sea-Port. To this the French submitted, tho' with much Reluctancy; and in this at least the Ministers at that Time were seconded by the Voice of the whole Nation. Even those, who opposed that Administration, were ashamed of some weak Attempts made to depreciate this important Article of the Utrecht Treaty. They soon took the other Part. They sounded high the Consequence of it, and the Necessity of executing it with the utmost Rigour. They were so far from thinking the Demolition of the Fortifications to the Land and to the Sea sufficient, that the Mole and Harbour were call'd by them, and I think rightly, the Terror of the British Nation.

Such was the Issue of the first Disputes about Dunkirk, a little before the Death of the late Queen. The French were obliged to proceed to a total Destruction of it. They turned themselves therefore to another Method, and began to cleanse and widen the Canal of Mardyke. The Pretences of doing it were the same as had been urged in order to save the Port of Dunkirk, under Colour of saving the Country from Inundations. But the plain Design of this Work was to open a new Harbour at Dunkirk, and a new Communication with the Sea.

As the Work proceeded, this Design became every Day more evident, by the Breadth and Depth which were given to the Canal of Mardyke, and by the enormous Size of the new

Sluice, larger than that at Dunkirk, and vastly beyond any Proportion that could be pretended necessary for carrying off the Waters, or even for receiving Fisher-Vessels, and other small Craft.

As the Design became more evident, the Representations against it became more frequent and strong. But the French drew the Affair into length, by the common Arts of Negotiation, and in the mean time pursued their Enterprize with all the Vigour and Dispatch imaginable; till the late King, resolving not to suffer so manifest a Violation of the Treaty of Utrecht, sent the Earl of Stair to the Court of France, soon after his Accession to the Crown.

This Minister proceeded on the Principle establish'd at first, and hitherto not once departed from. The true Sense of the Treaty of Utrecht, says he; in one of his Memorials, and the Intention of Great Britain is, that Dunkirk shall never have a Port again. From whence he argues, that since the Port of Mardyke is in its Use a Port to the City of Dunkirk, as much as the old one was, the King of Great Britain would have liked as well to have had this substist, and only the Name of it changed, as to see another Port, larger and more convenient, open'd at a League to the Westward.

The Answers which the Court of France made to all these Representations, were very far from giving Satisfaction; but the Firmness which the Earl of Stair shewed, and perhaps the declining State of Lewis XIV. prevail'd on the French Councils to stop the carrying on these Works.

Such was the Issue of the second Disputes about Dunkirk, when the late King of France died. The French neither departed from their Pretensions, groundless as they were, nor ruined the Works they had made at Mardyke. They kept one alive, and only suspended the other.

The late King, therefore, instead of dropping this Affair, continued to push it, and to shew that he was determined, at any Rate, to have another Sort of Satisfaction than he had yet received.

This Satisfaction he obtain'd soon after, by a provisional Agreement made with the Minister of France at Hampton-Court, in September, 1716, and inserted in the Triple Defensive Alliance concluded at the Hague between Great Britain, France, and the States General in January, 1717.

The Duke of Orleans was now Regent of France. His political Interests led him to desire the Friendship of the late King. This Disposition was cultivated and improved on our Parts, and the Union between the two Courts grew to be extremely intimate. But as Great Britain and France acted in Concert like Friends, so they acted together in these Days

Days like *Equals*. If we used their Help, we lent them ours. The Dependence was at least mutual, and when our separate Interests came into Competition with theirs, far from fearing to assert our Right, lest we should disoblige our Friends, we treated with them like an independent Nation, who knew that it is, or may be always made the Interest of France to keep Measures with Great Britain, as much as it can become, at any Time, the Interest of Great Britain to keep Measures with France.

His late Majesty did indeed at this Time consent, that the Canal, open'd at *Mardyke*, should subsist, for carrying off the Waters, and for the little Commerce necessary to supply that Part of the Country with Provisions. This was a Concession which had not been made before, and which the French had not strictly any Right to expect. But surely it was wise to make it in the Manner, and on the Conditions on which it was made.

As long as a King of France had the plausible Pretence of saving his Subjects from drowning, or starving, to cover his Designs, it was obvious enough, by all that had pass'd, that the Design of restoring *Dunkirk*, under this Pretence, would never be laid aside. The late King, therefore, in order to defeat the Design once for all, resolv'd to take the Pretence entirely away.

By the 4th Article of the *Triple Alliance*, the great new Sluice made at *Mardyke*, and all the *Jetties* erected along the Strand, are to be destroy'd, and not to be made use of for any Port, Haven, or Sluice at *Dunkirk*, or at *Mardyke*, or at any other Place within two Leagues Distance of either of these; the Intention of the contracting Parties, and the End which they propose to themselves by this Treaty being, that no Port, Harbour, Fortification, Sluice, or Basin, shall be made or built at *Dunkirk*, at the Sluice of *Mardyke*, or at any other Place whatsoever upon the Coast, within the Distance before-mentioned.

By the same Article it was stipulated likewise, that the *Diques* or *Jetties*, on both Sides of the old Canal or Port of *Dunkirk*, should be entirely demolish'd down to the Strand, and that some other Things should be further done, which might be necessary to the more compleat Destruction of the Harbour.

This being consented to on the Part of France, his Majesty consented that the little Sluice on the Canal of *Mardyke*, should remain, provided the Breadth of it was reduced to sixteen Foot.

Such was the Issue of the Disputes about *Dunkirk*, in the Time of the late King; and surely there was good Reason to hope, after the Settlement then made, that we should hear of them no more. But to the great Detriment and Misfortune of our Nation, so it is, that we have greater Reason than ever to

renew these Disputes. What the French were not suffer'd to attempt by that Administration, which Sir Richard Steele call'd the French Administration, they have been lately suffer'd to do. Instead of not executing one Treaty fully, they have publickly violated two. They actually enjoy the Benefit of the Canal of *Mardyke*, which was indulg'd to them, that there might remain no Colour for ever opening that of *Dunkirk*; and in the midst of this Enjoyment, they have open'd, they have repair'd that of *Dunkirk*, and contriv'd their Work so, that whenever they shall think proper to finish it, *Dunkirk* will be at once a better Harbour than it was, when it stood the Glory of France and the Terror of Britain.

Extract from the Gazetteer of Nov. 11.

THE Craftsman of Oct. 25, gives us a Letter as from the deceased *Machiavel*, in several Respects humorous and pleasant enough, but has nevertheless something in it, that, I think, deserves Animadversion.

He inveighs greatly against our Conduct, for not joining the Emperor in the late War against France and Spain, and says, that it was then, and still is the general Opinion of all impartial and sensible Men, that we should have done so.

Query. Where were all these impartial and sensible Men to be found at that Time? Where did they declare it to be their Opinion, that we should go into that War in the Situation we were then in? Did they speak it in Parliament, did they write it in the Craftsman?

Query 2. Did this *Machiavel* at that Time once open his Mouth to persuade us to go into that War? Did not all Parties then agree that we ought not to engage in that War, without the Dutch? Did not a present Hon. Member for the City of London, a very great Merchant, and as great a Speaker, declare in the House of Commons at that Time, that in his Opinion we should be a Nation insatuated, if we pretended to enter into the War on account of the Emperor, without the Concurrence of the Dutch? Was it not at that Time the universal Opinion, that all the Interests of our Trade requir'd us not to engage in the War without the Dutch? (See p. 539.)

Common-Sense, Nov. 22. N^o 198.

How Sheriffs were anciently appointed.

THE Custody of the County is committed to the Sheriff; the Execution and Return of all Writs belong to him; by Virtue of which he is not only Returning Officer in the Election of Knights of the Shire, but in some Measure, of every Citizen and Burgess in the County. He can hasten or delay sending

ing the Writ to the proper Officer of each City or Borough; and if there is any Dispute who that Person is, he can direct it to which he pleases. So that there is no Officer in whom greater Trust is reposed, *especially in an Election Year*. But at another Time, when there is no particular Jobb to serve, notwithstanding it is an Office of great Trust, yet as it is likewise attended with Hazard and Expence, it is generally consider'd as a Burden.

Sheriffs by the common Law were chosen by the Freeholders, as were all other Officers, who were instituted either for Preservation of the Peace of the Counties, or for Execution of Justice. But upon Pretence that insufficient Persons were sometimes chosen to be Sheriffs, this Power of Nomination was by 9 E. II. taken from the People, and placed in the Chancellor, Treasurer, Barons of the Exchequer, and the rest of the Justices. But this Statute was far from remedying the pretended Evil, for no sooner was the Power taken from the Freeholders, but the Kings usurped it to themselves, from which there arose a real Inconvenience: For the Kings were frequently persuaded to make Grants to Sheriffs of their Bailiwicks for Term of Years, by which, as is recited in 14 E. III. c. 7. "they were encouraged to do many Oppressions to the People, and evil Service to the King and his People." It is therefore by that Statute establish'd, "That no Sheriff shall tarry in his Bailiwick over one Year, and then another convenient shall be ordained in his Place, that hath Land sufficient in his Bailiwick, by the Chancellor, Treasurer, and Chief Baron of the Exchequer, taking to them the Chief Justices, if they be present; and that shall be done Yearly in the Morrow of All-Souls at the Exchequer." And by 12 R. II. c. 2. "The Chancellor, &c. are to be firmly sworn that they shall not ordain, name, or make Justices of Peace, Sheriffs, &c. for any Gift or Brocade, Favour or Affection; nor that none that pursueth by him or by other, privily or openly, to be in any Manner of Office, shall be put in the same Office, or any other."

Thus stands the Law at present in Regard to the Nomination of Sheriffs, but the Practice is different. The several great Officers, who have the Assigning of Sheriffs (and others, who perhaps have not that Power) meet at the Day and Place appointed by the Statute, and there, being sworn, make a List of three Persons for every Shire, out of which they leave it to the King to choose one for each County.

This is not exactly conformable to the Statute, yet as it is done out of Deference to the Crown, and as the Election made by the King out of such Lists may in Law be consider'd as an Assignment by those great Officers, it is not

liable to much Objection. But there is another Practice crept in, that has not the least Colour of Law to protect it; and that is appointing another to be Sheriff than one of the three assign'd by the great Officers. This in the Court Stile is called, *making a Pocket Sheriff*; and is either done as a Mark of Resentment, or to serve a particular Turn.

A The great Officers are bound by a solemn Oath to make Sheriffs "of the best and most lawful Men, and sufficient to their Estimation and Knowledge," but those who advise his Majesty to neglect their List and nominate other Persons to be Sheriffs, are under no such Obligation; they may do it out of Favour or Affection, they may do it out of Rancor or Malice, and not be guilty of Perjury.

B Before the great Officers were under the Obligation of an Oath, they too frequently mis-used the Power placed in them by Parliament, by nominating such Persons to be Sheriffs as would be subservient to the Minister in Elections. But this was too gross an Abuse to be long suffer'd in those Times.

C In the 11th Year of R. II. Articles of Appeal for High Treason were exhibited in Parliament against Sir Robert Tresilian and his Accomplices, the 11th of which is, "That the said Robert Tresilian, and other the Appellees, Traytors to the King and Kingdom, had caused the King to direct his Council to make certain Persons that were named to him by the said Malefactors and Traytors to be Sheriffs throughout England, to the Intent that they might procure such Knights of Shires to come to Parliament as they liked of."

D Sir Robert was solemnly call'd to appear and answer to the said Articles, but he making Default, was convicted and hang'd as a Traytor and Enemy to the King and Kingdom. And the very next Year the Parliament pass'd that Act, which I have already taken Notice of, to oblige the great Officers to take an Oath to make Sheriffs of the best, and most lawful Men, and that without Favour or Affection: But the Security given by that Statute is entirely evaded, if this Practice of making Pocket Sheriffs is to prevail.

E When this open Infraction of the Statute Law was first introduced, I cannot say; however, this I find, *It is a Practice which has been long since solemnly condemn'd*. K. Henry VI. in the 34th Year of his Reign, had been persuaded to appoint a Person Sheriff for the County of Lincoln, who was not one of the three assign'd by the great Officers in the Exchequer. The Person thus illegally appointed refused to act in an Office of so much Trouble and Expence. Upon which the Lord Chancellor demand'd of the Judges, "What them seemed should be done in this Behalfe." And (according to the Record in the Council Book) "the two Chief Justices the same Day came unto my Lords of the King's Council

Council in the sterr'd Chamber, and upon the abovesaid Demaund sayde, That them seemed, and so it seem'd unto the Remnant of the Juges, *That the King did an Error, when that he made another Person Sherief of Lincolnshire then was chosen and presented unto his Highness after the Felt of the Statut in such Behalfe made.* And they further add, that he could not be punish'd or fined for his Disobedience, as if he had been one of the three Persons chosen after the Tenour of the Statute. Here we behold all the Judges of England unanimously declaring, *That the King had erred in what he had done.*

After this solemn Determination it might have been imagin'd no one would ever presume to advise his Royal Master to commit the like Error. Yet that this Method of making Sheriffs shou'd have been sometimes made use of long before the Revolution, when our Kings pretended a Right of setting aside Acts of Parliament by their Prerogative, and to *non-obstante* their Subjects out of their Liberties, is not much to be wonder'd at: But that the like iniquitous Practice should prevail after that Doctrine of Slavery was exploded, appears very extraordinary; nevertheless, Custom can never be pleaded, in direct Opposition to a positive Statute.

Craftsman, Nov. 22. N^o 751.

The Advantages of PRINTING, and the Liberty of the PRESS.

THE great and extensive Usefulness of the *Art of Printing* is allow'd by all civilized Nations; and without the *Liberty of the Press*, under very moderate Limitations, the *Art of Printing* itself would be of little or no Use to Mankind, in Matters either of Religion or Government.

To this we entirely owe the Reformation of Religion, not only in Protestant, but even in Popish Countries; for however the latter may still keep up the outward Forms and Pageantries of their Forefathers, Popery now is as different from the Popery of ancient Times, before the *Press* laid open the Usurpations and Corruptions of the Church, as it still is from Protestantism. We have not heard of any Bishop of Rome, for many Ages, who hath had the Impudence to assert a Right of treading upon the Necks of Emperors, putting whole Kingdoms under Interdicts, thundering out Anathemas against Princes, and absolving their Subjects from their Allegiance. The Inquisition, indeed, of a much more modern Date, still prevails in two or three Popish Countries; but, if I am rightly inform'd, the Rigour and Cruelty of it is very much abated.

Nay, our own Church hath been additionally reform'd, even since the first, great Reformation, in the just and prudent Explication of her Doctrines, the moderate Exercise of her Power

and Discipline, and an extensive Charity to all our dissenting Protestant Fellow-Subjects. This hath been principally, if not entirely, owing to the Light, which the *Press* hath diffused amongst all Ranks of People.

Civil Government hath received the same Benefits and Advantages from the *Press* in all Nations, where the Liberty of it hath been allow'd in any Degree; for tho' all People are naturally free, yet by the Ambition of some Men, and the Corruption of others, most of them soon lost their original Liberty. I need go no higher for Instances of this, than to the ancient Greeks and Romans; nor is there any Occasion to dwell upon these, since every School-Boy knows that from the most free and flourishing States, they at last became the most abject and miserable Slaves, whilst their Oppressors wanton'd in all the Excesses of Vice and Luxury.

But as all violent Proceedings must in Time have an End, the Degeneracy of the Roman People, who were at last reduced to the lowest Dregs, paved the Way for infinite Numbers of hungry Foreigners, who swarm'd from their northern Hives, in Search of new Habitations, to invade them, and over-run all Europe. This however was attended with one very good Effect; as it laid the Foundation of those Gothic Forms of Government, which they establish'd in Europe, from whence our old Saxon Constitution is derived.

All the other Governments of Europe, except our own, have long ago lost the great Privileges of this ancient Constitution; and if we may give Credit to the ministerial Hacks, we have no Right to it ourselves; for they are eternally representing all Opposition to the Measures of a Court, and all Struggles to support our Liberties, as so many Instances of a seditious Spirit, and unwarrantable Invasions of the Prerogative. Nothing gives these modest Gentlemen more Disturbance than the Liberty of the *Press*, tho' they exercise it themselves to a Degree of Licentiousness never practis'd before, and directly contrary to Law.

But I think our modern Sydnays, Exports, and Freemans have no Reason to complain of a little Liberty, on our Side, since they cannot have the Vanity to imagine, that any Minister would think it worth his While to employ such a Parcel of Reptiles in his Service, with any other View than to throw Dirt, and bespatter those, whom he cannot answer. Whenever the Liberty of the *Press* is intirely destroy'd, they will be immediately laid aside, like useless Scaffolding, and the poor Post-Horses would be discharged from the heavy Burden of distributing their Rubbish thro' the Nation. I have often given them this candid Hint, and once more earnestly beseech them to consider, who would be at the Expence of buying their Works, when so very few People will now vouchsafe them a Reading, tho' they are sent to them gratis.

The DIVERSIONS of DENBY'S,* A new
BALLAD.

YE friends to rural sports,
Who love the fragrant air,
O! leave the foggy town,
And quick to me repair.

*Then to Denby's we will go, will go,
will go; then to Denby's we will go.*

Assur'd, at our arrival,
An *English* heart to find;
A face, like plenty smiling;
An ever-cheerful mind.

And to Denby's, &c.

View the prospect round,
As up the hill we ride;
The hill, which o'er the vallies,
Looks down with noble pride.

And to Denby's, &c.

Sweetly intermingled
The less'ning objects lie:
There *Windsor's* towers; the ocean there;
There *Paul's* proud dome we spy.

And to Denby's, &c.

Hail wondrous landskip,
Thus ever-varying round!
Britannia, in thy empire,
Where can the like be found?

And to Denby's, &c.

Lo! the blooming spot,
Where art has nature foil'd.
O friend! what but thy spirit
Cou'd thus improve the wild!

And to Denby's, &c.

How charming, here to wander,
E'er *Phebus* tips the dews!
Or, smil'd upon by *Cynthia*,
To court the wood-land muse!

And to Denby's, &c.

Here, various poultry;
There lowing kine delight;
With ev'ry beauty of the farm,
That can the eye invite.

And to Denby's, &c.

Adjoining to these,
See the salon aspire;
Where *Hayman* and *Roubillac*
Their works with life inspire.

And to Denby's, &c.

Wit and good humour,
Here justly temper'd meet:
The muses, loves, and graces,
Inhabit this retreat.

And to Denby's, &c.

All in splendid order
The dishes now advance:
These gone, quadrille's the word;
And, next, a sprightly dance.

And to Denby's, &c.

A fig, for your assemblies:
O what shall we compare
To the bright band of relatives,
Who form the circle here!

And to Denby's, &c.

For less modish sports
We to the hall retire;
There crack new jokes; old stories tell,
Around the greenwood fire.

And to Denby's, &c.

Thrice blissful mansion,
Where clocks are useless found;
Where time's distinguish'd only
By pleasure's circling round!

And to Denby's, &c.

Thy cascades, sweet *Lonsome*! †
And † *Woolton's* we survey,
When to *Leith-Hills* (amazing scene!)
We shape our winding way.

And to Denby's, &c.

Now, fast-hook'd, the carp
Lies, tossing in the lake.
Now, flutt'ring, drops the pheasant,
Shot, rising from the brake.

And to Denby's, &c.

Hark! the cocks are crowing;
The planets disappear:
The hounds are all abroad;
And *Ringwood* charms the ear.

And to Denby's, &c.

See! in sylvan state
The train spreads o'er the lawn;
Whilst our early music
Awakes the drowzy dawn.

And to Denby's, &c.

Thro' the pathless thicket,
The huntsman bursts away:
Not fences, ditches, gates, or floods,
Can keep him from the prey.

And to Denby's, &c.

Swift from his covert
The fox in terror flies:
Brisk we pursue o'er hills and dales;
Pursue with joyful cries.

And to Denby's, &c.

Fir'd by the rival voice
Of men, and horns, and hounds,
We seem to fly along the gale,
So swift each courser bounds.

And to Denby's, &c.

Lo! the fox lies gasping;
The huntsman sounds his fate:
Then with our trophies home we march,
And our great seats relate.

And to Denby's, &c.

Cheer'd by thee, gay *Bacchus*,
Our joys we soon refine:
Then, grateful, in return pour forth
Libations at thy shrine.

And to Denby's, &c.

* A House standing on a very high Hill of that Name, opposite to Box-Hill, in Surrey. † Mr. Jacobson's rural Retirement; a Beauty in its Kind; and, like Horace's *Pyrrha*, *Simplex munditiis*.
‡ The delightful Seat of Sir John Evelyn.

By the fire, the huntsman
Improves the jocund tale,
With hounds flung out, and horses flak'd,
As round he hands the ale.

And to Denby's, &c.

To paint the various pleasures
Which in this seat abound,
Tho' a ream were scribbled full,
'Twould scarce give half the round.

And to Denby's, &c.

Since we promis'd the following Poem, we
have been favour'd with a more perfect and cor-
rect Copy, which we now give our Readers.

Festum Lustrale, sive Baptizatio Russica.

SOLENNES ritus, puerumque aspergine
lymphæ

Sacratum superis, obfetricemque facetam,
Hic canere incipimus: Faveat Lucina canenti.
Tuque harum adjutrix curarum & conscia Juno!
Jam decima humentes aurora fugaverat
umbras,

Ex quo maternis infans vagisset in ulnis:
Nec mora, vicini coeunt; jam dedita ventri
Pars puerum sacrâ properant conspergere lym-
phâ.

Interea pendent opera interrupta, ligoque
Stat medio defixus agro, spinosæque sepes
Semiputata manus agrestes poscit; at ille
Jam parat, ut sociis cultus conviva colonis
Interfit; juvat hunc disponere in ordine crines;
Compositum confux aptat collare marito.
Nec minus ipsa sibi curat sua sponsa, tumentes
Constringit vinclis costas, fingitque premendo;
Quamque suis nevit manibus, circumdata lanâ
est.

[cum
Componit vestes, tremulumque in vertice co-
erigit, & farris conspergit pulvere crines.

Pars pedes ire parat campis; parsque ardua
tardis

Fertur equis; unâque armati calce fatigant
Quadrupedes; lumbos onerat pinguisima conjux:
Post equitem cura alma sedens, similisq; cadenti,
Sæpe premit tutum tremebunda ad pectora
sponsum:

Ille sibi pondus commissum reddere terræ
Gaudet, & optatas tandem contingere portas.

Jam subeunt thalamum, socialque puerpera
matres

Excipit; illa humeros albo velamine cincta est,
Et sedet in molli plumis suffulta sedili.

Matronæ spectant puerum; juvat ora tueri,
Et versare manu, nasumque agnoscere patris,
Majorumque genas, & blandos matris ocellos.

Tunc avia has rumpit placido de pectore voces:
Si patrem memini puerum, sic ora ferebat,
Et sic ridebat teneris nutritis in ulnis.

Altera spes aviæ surgas, meliora parente
Arva colas, mediâque olim luctator arenâ
Subvertas juvenes; tum parto indute galero
Ibis ovans, tacitosque accendes Phyllidis ignes.
At si larga meis flavescat messis in arvis,

1740

Nostraque longævo placeat sententia sponso,
Tu nunquam attrito proscindas arva ligone,
Nec subigas tauros; sed grandior aldermannus
Urbani incedes tardus post pondera sceptri.

Laudant propositum matres, & provida Mopsa
Destinat æquævæ jam nunc connubia natæ.

Tandem procedunt matres, quas inter cuntes
Infantem manibus gestat Lucina tenellum,
Quem circumfuso nutritrix ornaverat ostro,
Demissâque stolâ pedibus, quâ Battus & omnes
A Batto soliti natos decorare recentes. [fontem
Tum subeunt templum, sacrumque ex ordine
Supplicibus cingunt genibus, gelidamque sacerdos
Spargit aquam, puero nomenque imponit avitum.
Flet puer, & vetulæ gaudentes omine fausto
Non dubitant longam ex fletu prædicere vitam.

At domus interea luxu decoratur agresti:
Disponunt famuli lances, luteasque patellas,
Ornamenta abaci veteris, qui mole suâ stat
Ligno compositus sculpto. Tum lintea mensæ,
Lintea ficulis imponunt candida quadris.
Pendula detergunt, quæ fixit aranea, fila;
Bibliaque à nitidis tollunt antiqua fenestris,
Duræque modos, quos roserat esuriens mus.
Idem ardor servos stimulat, quæis cura culinae,
Accendunt ignem, verubusque affigere longis
Terga bovis properant, manibusque calentia
versant.

Parte aliâ tepidum fumos emittit ahenum.

O genti alituum lux exitiosa! Columba
Amisissos queritur tectorum in culmine fortis;
Solaque neglectos errat gallina per hortos.

Illi cura penum struere, & spectabile pruno
Hæc miscet fartum; farrisq; hæc mœnia condit.
Illâ parte puer cultros in limine primo
Exacuit, multa absistit scintilla metallo.

Fervet opus, suavi redolet nidore culina. [nis

Hæc inter famuli variè properantur, & om-
Jam redit a templo conviva, epulisque paratis
Accumbit tacitus; primâque in sede locatur
Obstetrix, crassoque gemit sub pondere sella,
Plena ipsâ; tunc illa bovis sumantia terga
Defecat in partes varias, mensamque per omnem
Mittit, & agrestes dapibus lætantur opimis,
Vinaque de pleno ducunt pomarea cornu
Ridentes, & sæpe calix redit æstus in orbem
Exhilarans animos, & corda oblita laborum.

Jam, Lucina, tui gliscunt incendia nasi,
Et linguâ incessis tardos mordace maritos,
Ultra annos vultumque gerens, animumque sa-
cetum:

[aulâ

O pecus ignavum, sponsi, quæis nullus in
Ludit filiulus, nec dulcis filia, patrem
Quæ recreet placidis redeuntem vespere nugis,
Mistæque colloquiis puerilibus oscula jungat.
Vos multi pueri, mulæ sprevere puellæ,
Dum luget vacuos prudens matrona penates.
O utinam segnes premeret lex æqua maritos!
Floreat ille pater, qui matris computat annos.
Finierat; calicemque arenti gutture plenum
Siccant, & hoc hausto nondum satiata recedit.
Interiore domo matresque oblectat hiantes,
Secreta obscuris pandens mysteria verbis,
Et steriles damnans campos: procul ite puellæ,

4 F

Fas

Fas nulli innuptæ Lucinæ audire labores.
Non pudet opprobriis sponfos illudere, culpas
Vicinæ arcanas alio sub nomine celat,
Fœmineamque jubet præstare silentia turbam.

Exiit interea vestes, cunisque reponit
Infantem nutrix. En parvum machina lectum
Continet objectu laterum; mirabere costas
Vimine candenti textas, & pensile tegmen
Obductum capiti, lædat ne pulvis ocellos,
Subjectosque pedes, quæis machina mobilis unâ
Itque reditque viâ, somnumque invitat eundo.
Flet puer interea, cantat blandissima nutrix,
Atque imperfectis lallat cunale loquelis.
Nec potis est molli fletum compescere cantu,
Quia puerum è cunis tollat, mammaeque mi-
nistret,

Suppeditetque cibum, proprio quem versat in ore
Ipsa prius, gustuque alieno pascitur infans.

Haud aliter fruges dispersas colligit arvis
Ales, & ore refert pullis crepitantibus, illi
Escam avidè captant, & hianti gutture condunt.

At juvenes, puero dederant qui nomina, libant
Oscula virginibus repetita; est flamma medullas
Mollis, & innocuos læti meditantur amores.
Agricolæ multâ traherent convivia nocte,
Ni jam suaderent fulgentia sidera somnos.
Surgunt convivæ; Corydon tamen ipse moratur,
Continuatque scyphos; sedet, æternumque se-
debit,

Ni moveat solitas conjux fidissima lites.
Discedunt hilares; baculo hic vestigia firmat,
Conjugis implicitam tenet ille uxoris ulnam.

Turn pater exultans dictis compellat euntes;
Ite, va! ete omnes! tandem redeunte Decembri,
(Ni fallar) pulchram pariet mea Lydia natam,
Vosque reversuro festum renovabitis anno.
Rident matronæ, votisque his omnia firmant,
Stet domus, & simili frondeat prole quotannis.

To D—N S—T, on his BALLY-SPELL-
LING. (See p. 500)

ONE day I sat in harmless chat,
When Celia at her selling,
Ask'd, if I'd seen the Magazine
In praise of Bally-Spelling.

But think you, Sir, with all this stir,
Verse you're a non-pareil in?
There are some few, as well as you,
Can write on Bally-Spelling.

Without a joke, incroaching folk
For inch will take an ell in;
So you'd have praise for trifling lays,
On springs at Bally-Spelling.

I'm sure 'tis plain, you've rack'd your brain,
For words the letter L in;
Some you have got, and others not,
That sound like Bally-Spelling.

In former days you won the bays,
Your muse each muse excelling;
When Molly Mag set you a-gog,
As now has Bally-Spelling.

But since grown old, and deaf, I'm told,
I heard it at the Bell-Inn;
No wonder that you've fail'd in what
Is rhyme to Bally-Spelling.

We all agree, with ships twice three
Vernon our foes repelling,
Took Porto-Belle; brave news to tell
The nymphs at Bally-Spelling.

With joy and mirth, to Vernon's birth,
All grief and care dispelling,
Fill ev'ry glass; and let it pass
Quite round, at Bally-Spelling.

Who does not think his health to drink,
I wish he were a well in,
As low and deep, as rocks are steep,
Or those at Bally-Spelling.

For folk like these, before 'twou'd please
The clerk to toll the bell in;
And none would dare to drop a tear,
For such at Bally-Spelling.

Where is the bard wou'd strive so hard
To bring his stanza's well in?
For at the best, 'tis a mere jest
To think of Bally-Spelling.

Our Dog and Duck has better luck
In maladies expelling,
Stone, itch or gout; and, past all doubt,
Cures more than Bally-Spelling.

In height of spring when linnets sing,
And pease and beans are shelling;
The water here, is far more clear
Than yours, at Bally-Spelling.

If spleen infect a damsel's breast,
I'm told by doctor Pelling,
If she comes here, and quits her beer,
She needs no Bally-Spelling.

Then cease your strain, your wit is vain;
Your judgment's not compelling
Enough to make the English take
A trip to Bally-Spelling.

H. T.

On Admiral VERNON'S BIRTH-DAY.
An irregular ODE.

Hic dies vere mihi festus atrox
Eximet curas: Ego nec tumultum,
Nec mori per vim metuum, tenente
Cæsare terras.

PROFITIOUS be this happy morn,
May every blessing crown the day;
Bright sun, arise, inspire our joys,
And bless us with thy kindest ray.
Be the day consign'd to fame,
Dearest to the British name,
That gave great Vernon light;
Generous Britons, join in praise,
It's Vernon's acts commands your lays,
That shine profusely bright.

Nature

2.
Nature her swiftest circles run,
To bring the blissful minute on;
Heaven transported, with a smile,
Cry'd, now, I've blest'd the *British* isle.

3.
Behold, his thunders roll,
Iberia trembling at the sound;
Horrors and death eclipse each soul,
And spread confusion round.

4.
The *British* lion foams with ire,
And pours forth deluges of fire,
Along the *Indian* shoar;
Trembling nature starts with fear,
Dreads the last conflagration's near,
Shock'd by his dreadful roar.

5.
Mountains of batteries strive in vain,
Not all the legions of proud *Spain*
Can stop the boundless flame;
Nature herself submits to fate,
When heaven, and *Britain*, give the date,
And *Vernon* joins the same.
'Tis his the cause of heaven to fight,
And give an injur'd nation right,
To make th' insulting *Spaniard* know,
George is heav'n's vice-roy below.

W. E——N.

On a LADY who f-r-rted at Church.

HIDDEN beneath the lily fair,
Oft dangerous snakes we see:
On trees that sweetest gooseberries bear,
Ten thousand prickles be.
Tho' choicest honey in her lips,
The sweet-mouth'd bee may bring;
Yet in her tail this cunning gyp
Conceals a pois'nous sting.
Thus beautify'd with every grace,
With ev'ry winning art,
Cblee with sweet alluring face
Commands each gazer's heart.
Whilst thus she seem'd so very fair,
Most admirably neat,
With shining face and powder'd hair
So every way compleat;
Seated in church, quite gayly dress'd,
With ev'ry air so smart,
Alas! poor girl, too tightly lac'd,
Poor Cblee let a f-r-t.
So from the brightest sky does *Yove*
The loudest thunder send;
And mermaids, beautiful above,
In hideous fishes end *.

K. H.

The DUCK and the BULRUSH.

I F fame says true, there was a time
When each inanimate could rhyme;
In times like those a *bulrush* stood,
More tall than wise, more plump than good;

Lavish in his own commendations,
Despis'd his friends and his relations;
No titl'd fop of twenty-three
Cou'd be more pert, or dull than he.
Sure (said the vaunter) forest trees
Beneath me are, by ten degrees;
The *ash* and *poplar* boast they're strong,
A storm can lay them all along;
The *oak* may boast his might in vain,
I've seen him tumbld on the plain.
I stand the shock of wind and weather,
Whence I may reasonably gather,
That I am first, and best of all,
Who never yet was known to fall.
A *duck*, by chance, was waddling by,
And made this short but just reply:
Ignoble plant, vain coxcomb, cease,
Hear reason once, and hold thy peace;
Know that when lawless storms arise,
The noble *oak*, in patriot guise,
Resists the tempests of the sky,
Resolv'd to stem its rage, or die.
The *ash* and *poplar*, heroes like,
May chance to fall, but scorn to strike;
Did they, like thee, fawn, cringe, and bow,
They might stand safe as thou dost now.

M O R A L.

Thus many a placeman boasts his merit,
Imputes his wealth to wit and spirit,
Who like my friend the *bulrush* stands,
With heart corrupt, and dirty hands.

An Italian, struck with the Charms of some
English Ladies who were walking in the
Mall, asks the Catholic Church, (who is
here imagin'd as a Person) whether it were
true that those beautiful Ladies shou'd be
damn'd, and the homely Roman ones be
sav'd?

GREAT queen, who sit'st on *Peter's*
throne, conceal'd; [earth and sea;
Whose power extends o'er heav'n, o'er
Say, is it true, what late a friar reveal'd,
Concerning a divine, but harsh decree?
Say, must the *British* fair be doom'd to woe,
The fair, who beauteous here, as angels
seem; [show,
And *Rome's* coarse dames, whose face the *fury*
When hence translated, rise to bliss supreme?
'Tis so, (cries she;) th' eternal volume read,
Thou'lt find salvation, there, alone decreed,
To those o'er whom just sway, to me, is giv'n.
If that's the case (said I) a truth I'll tell:
Heav'n, thus disfigur'd, will become as hell;
And hell, imbellish'd thus, be chang'd to
heaven.

The Original of this Sonnet (written by
an eminent Italian Poet now in London) is
as follow.

4 F 2

SONETTO.

* Desinit in *Pisces Mulier formosa supernd.* Horace's Art of Poetry.

SONETTO.

SACRA regina, che sul tron di Piero
Regni, ed in cielo, e in terra ai potestate,
Dimmi s' è ver quel che a me disse un frate,
Sopra un divin giudizio aspro e severo.

Dimmi dunque, sovrana, s' è mai vero,
Che queste belle Inglese sien dannate,
Che son' angeli in terra? e fian beate
Le brutte furie del Romano impero?

Così sarà, dic' ella; il libro eterno
Da te si legga, e vi vedrai deciso,
Che al ciel sol quelle andran, che qui governa.

Or, s' è così, rispond' egli, io t' avviso,
Che 'l paradiso diverrà un' inferno,
E che sarà l' inferno un paradiso.

*Answer to the ÆNIGMA in the Magazine for
September 1740. (P. 454.)*

By a young LADY of Eighteen.

WHEN first bright Phœbus did his beams
display,

To lighten chaos with the first-born day;
And when his darting rays of heavenly light
Expell'd the darkness of eternal night;
When thus our globe from gloomy mists was

clear'd,
And gladfom warmth the new creation
cheer'd, [appear'd.]

'Twas then the SHADES of all things first
In various shapes descending down to earth,
From the bright sun the SHADOW takes its
birth:

Oft in a monarch's form 'tis seen to tread,
Or like an humble suppliant kneel for bread.
All shapes the breathless roving SHADOW wears,
Sometimes like men, sometimes like beasts
appears.

But when great Sol around the heavens has run,
And night's black curtain hides the setting sun,
SHADOWS then disappear; but rise again,
When pale-fac'd Cynthia, with her starry train,
In languid light begins her nightly reign.
Oft, when the wretch, on horrid murder bent,
At midnight reams to hide his black intent,
His SHADOW does his guilty soul affright,
Which like a phantom haunts his troubled sight.
A breathless form, yet every thing together,
And always disappears in cloudy weather.

North Wales,

Oct. 24, 1740.

AMANDA.

ANOTHER.

DEELY engag'd the wits must be.

To find your riddle out,
When e'en it is disclos'd by me,
The meanest of the rout.

In ev'ry shape, in ev'ry place

This wonder is you sing:

It cannot be a plainest case,

A SHADOW is the thing.

Birmingham,

Oct. 22, 1740.

THELAMONT.

*To a FRIEND, that noble Actions are the most
lasting Monument.*

WHEN winter clothes the hills with
snow,

And glazes ev'ry field,
The trees with icy branches bend,
And a bleak prospect yield.

Yet spring returns, and warmer suns

Paint ev'ry vale with flow'rs,

While blossom'd trees in vernal pride

Smell sweet with gentle show'rs.

But when, my friend, all-changing time

Has silver'd o'er your head,

No more will graceful waving locks

Agen your shoulders spread;

No more your eyes dart lucid flame,

Or sprightly blood disclose,

While thro' the blooming cheek it glows,

The colour of the rose.

So heav'n ordains, the fatal hour,

Tho' slow, will come at last,

That must unstring the vig'rous arm,

And youthful beauty blast.

But yet by merit you may raise

A monument of fame,

And to posterity transmit

The glory of your name.

So Vernon shall distinguish'd shine

In fame's resplendent sphere,

His actions warm each Britisb heart,

And name transport each ear:

While future ages will relate

His conquests on the main,

Who *Porto Bello* took, and struck

A terror into *Spain*.

May not the county justly boast

That such a hero gave,

As long as hatred shall pursue

The coward, or the knave?

PHOEBE singing.

SAY, gentle breeze, what musick breaks
the air,

What song thus charms, thus ravishes my ear?

Why springs my heart with an unusual bound,

Lost in the pleasing extasy of sound?

Diffusive transports all my bosom fire;

I pant, I glow, I tremble and admire.

Does some sweet *Sappho* touch the quiv'ring
strings?

Some *Syrén* charm? Or is it *Phœbe* sings?

'Tis *Phœbe* sings: Ye circling woodbines bend,

Ye linnets listen, and ye larks attend:

Attend and listen; from the charming fair

Learn ev'ry note, and practise ev'ry air:

Such charms, such notes, so lovely and so clear,

I'd live to rev'rence, and I'd die to hear.

TITYRUS.

*The Latin Version of Milton's Hymn to
Light, the Fable of the Mice, and the Kerses is
Mr. Gunn, shall be inserted in our next.*

THE

THE Monthly Chronologer.

SATURDAY, Nov. 1.



THIS Night was a most dreadful Hurricane, which continu'd from between 5 and 6 a Clock to 10 or 11, and did a great deal of Mischief, as well on the River, as in and near London. At Six, a Stack of Chimnies belonging to the Rev. Mr. Dormer, who kept a Boarding-School at *Kensington*, fell down upon the House, and by their great Weight made their Way quite into the Cellar: Mr. Dormer was in the Room next under the Garret, and a Son of Sir Richard Mill, Bart. with him; Mrs. Dormer was in the Room under them, and another Son of Sir Richard's with her, being just come down from his Brother, and they were all cover'd with the Ruins: Mr. Dormer and his Wife were both kill'd, but the two young Gentlemen were taken out alive, but very much bruis'd. The rest of the Boarders were happily at another Part of the House. About Eight, one of the Spires of *Westminster-Abbey* was blown down: As was also great Part of *Hyde-Park Wall*, between *Kensington* and *Hyde-Park Corner*. About Ten, Part of the House of Mr. Prince, of *Hollis-Street, Cavendish-Square*, was blown down, and the Master and Servants escap'd with the utmost Hazard of their Lives. At the Coach and Horses Alehouse in *Brook-street, Grosvenor-square*, a Stack of Chimnies fell into a Room where 7 Men were drinking, and kill'd one Thomas Gaull on the Spot, and bruis'd some of the rest. At the *Royal Exchange* a Brick Chimney was in a very surprising Manner parted, and turn'd almost round, where it hung by an Iron Hold-Fast till Sunday in the Afternoon, when some Workmen were employ'd to take it down. In the *Blue-Coat-Hospital* two Stacks of Chimnies fell on the Roof of one of the Wards, broke thro', and alarm'd them very much, but did no other Damage. A great many other Chimnies were blown down, the Tiling stript off the Houses in most Places; and in short a greater Defoliation has not been known for many Years.—But the Damage on the Water was much more considerable: For we had most melancholy Accounts from *Lynn, Yarmouth*, and several other Places, that many Ships and Vessels were lost, and others very much damag'd; that some were without Masts, some without Anchors, and some without Men, and several dead Bodies were drove

ashore. A Passage-Boat going from *Sheerness* to *Chatham* was lost, and 17 or 18 People drown'd. Capt. John Peddie, who lately made a brave Defence against a Spanish Privateer, unfortunately lost his Ship, the *Prince of Orange*, in the *Mergate Road*; of which, among the rest, he gave the following Particulars:—"At 10 we drove ashore on a Ledge of Rocks call'd the *Naylins*, where we lay till 12 Sunday Noon, when Merchant Brooks got two Boats carted from to Windward of the Wreck. The Ship had not been Half an Hour on Shore, before the Stern, Cabin, and Round-house, broke in pieces. We then got to the Fore-Castle, and by Morning all was gone abast the Windlass. Thus 23 of us continued, the Sea making a free Passage over us 14 Hours. Five perish'd with Cold before got off, and I could not have surviv'd an Hour longer. I lost the Use of my Limbs, and write this in Bed, where by having hot Cloths apply'd to me, I am much recover'd. I have not sav'd any Thing. The Height of the Gale was at North, and the People here say they never knew so violent a Gale."—Amidst the Damages sustain'd by the Violence of this Storm, 'twas a Consolation to hear, that the Fleet under Sir Chaloner Ogle in great Measure escap'd its Fury; and that very little of it was felt to the Westward, our Letters from *Plymouth, Dartmouth, Falmouth, &c.* making no Mention of any Losses sustain'd thereby.

At a General Meeting of the Corporation of the Governors and Guardians of the Hospital for the Maintenance and Education of exposed and deserted young Children, summon'd by Order of his Grace the Duke of Bedford, the President, to be held on special Affairs, it was Resolved, That the general Committee be empower'd to purchase of the Earl of Salisbury, his two pasture Fields, containing about 34 Acres of Land, on the North Side of *Ormond-street*, between *Lamb's-Conduit* and *Southampton-Row*, for a Scite to build an Hospital upon: And that the said Committee be empower'd to do all Things necessary for building an Hospital, as soon as the Land shall be purchased.

TUESDAY, 11.

A Court of Common-Council was held at *Guildhall*. when a Motion was made, and the Question put, That the Court of Aldermen have the Power of putting a Negative upon the Framing of a Question, which pass'd in the Negative; and the same pass'd in the Negative in the Court of Aldermen, by a Majority of

of 10 to 4. After which a Motion was made, *That the Court of Aldermen have not the Power of putting a Negative upon the Framing of a Question, which pass'd in the Affirmative; and the same pass'd in the Affirmative in the Court of Aldermen, by a Majority of 11 to 4.*

WEDNESDAY, 12.

This being the brave Admiral *Vernon's* Birth-day, it was distinguished in a very extraordinary Manner, by Ringing of Bells, and publick Dining in many Places, &c. and in the Evening, the greatest Rejoicings, Bon-fires, and Illuminations in *London*, that has been known for many Years. *Don Blasi* was burnt in many Places; and at *Chancery-Lane* End was a Pageant, where was depicted Admiral *Vernon*, and a Spaniard on his Knees, offering him his Sword; a View of *Porto-Bello*, and the Ships and warlike Implements; over the Admiral's Head was wrote, *Venit, vidit, vicit*; and under him, *Vernon semper viret*. The Day was celebrated also in most of the chief Places of the Kingdom, as also in *Ireland*; as was likewise the 1st Instant, in the Borough of *Southwark* and other Places; there being then some Uncertainty, whether that or the 12th was the Anniversary of the Birth of that great Man. The 22d also, being the Day he took *Porto Bello*, was celebrated with great Rejoicings.

Came on at *Cooks-Hall* in *Aldersgate street*, the Election of an Alderman for *Aldersgate Ward* in the Room of *Richard Levett*, Esq; deceased; when *William Benn*, Esq; an eminent Soap-Boiler in *Bishopsgate-street*, was unanimously chosen in his Room. It's greatly to the Honour of the present Lord Mayor, that he appointed the second Day after the Decease of *Ald. Levett*, for the Election, which gave no Opportunity for Bribery and Corruption.

SATURDAY, 15.

His Majesty's Ship the *Rose*, appointed Convoy to the Trade going to *Carolina*, and the *Bahama Islands*, being got down the Channel as far as the *Start Point*, her Commander, *Capt. Frankland*, perceiv'd a Boat (which appear'd like a *French Fishing-Boat*) in Company with a small Sloop, and suspecting her to be a *Spanish Privateer* with a Prize, he order'd the Ships under his Convoy to make the best of their Way to *Torbay*, and himself gave Chace to the Boat, and in three Hours and a half came up with her, and she proving to be a *Spanish Privateer*, he took her: She is a Launch of about 20 Tons, rows with 14 Oars, and had 20 Men on board when taken: The Sloop, which was in her Company, prov'd to be a Prize which was taken by her, call'd the *Molly*, *John Westcomb* Master, from *Hamble* bound to *Ferry*.

TUESDAY, 18.

The Judges of his Majesty's Court of King's Bench determined the great Cause (which began in the Year 1731) between *John Dor-*

mer, Esq; Plaintiff, and *Sir John Fortescue A-land*, Kut. one of the Justices of his Majesty's Court of Common-Pleas, his Lady, Mrs. *Katherine Dormer*, *John Parkhurst*, Esq; and his Wife, Defendants; the Court unanimously gave Judgment for the Plaintiff, by which Mr. *Dormer* becomes posses'd of about 1500*l.* a Year, after an Expence of upwards of 9000*l.*

The King went to the House of Peers, and the Commons being sent for up, and attending, his Majesty opened the Session with the following most gracious Speech.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I Acquainted you, at the Close of the last Session of Parliament, that I was making Preparations for carrying on the just and necessary War in which I am engaged, in the most proper Places, and in the most vigorous and effectual Manner. For this Purpose, strong Squadrons were got ready, and ordered to sail upon important Services, both in the *West-Indies* and *Europe*, with as much Expedition as the Nature of those Services, and the manning of the Ships, would admit: A very considerable Body of Land Forces was embarked, which is to be joined by a great Number of my Subjects raised in *America*; and all Things necessary for transporting the Troops from hence, and carrying on the designed Expedition, were a long Time in Readiness, and waited only for an Opportunity to pursue the intended Voyage.

The several Incidents which have happened in the mean time, have had no Effect upon me, but to confirm me in my Resolutions, and to determine me to add Strength to my Armaments, rather than to divert or deter me from those just and vigorous Measures which I am pursuing, for maintaining the Honour of my Crown, and the undoubted Rights of my People.

The Court of *Spain* having already felt some Effects of our Resentment, began to be sensible, that they should be no longer able, alone, to defend themselves against the Efforts of the *British Nation*; and if any other Power, agreeably to some late extraordinary Proceedings, should interpose, and attempt to prescribe or limit the Operations of the War against my declared Enemies, the Honour and Interest of my Crown and Kingdoms must call upon us to lose no Time in putting ourselves into such a Condition, as may enable us to repel any Insults, and to frustrate any Designs formed against us, in Violation of the Faith of Treaties; and I hope any such unprecedented Steps, under what Colour or Pretence soever they may be taken, will inspire my Allies with a true Sense of the common Danger, and will unite us in the Support and Defence of the common Cause.

The great and unhappy Event of the Death of the late Emperor, opens a new Scene in the Affairs in *Europe*, in which all the principal Powers

Powers may be immediately or consequentially concerned. It is impossible to determine what turn the Policy, Interest, or Ambition of the several Courts may lead them to take in this critical Conjunction. It shall be my Care strictly to observe and attend to their Motions, and to adhere to the Engagements I am under, in order to the maintaining of the Balance of Power, and the Liberties of *Europe*; and in Concert with such Powers as are under the same Obligations, or equally concerned to preserve the publick Safety and Tranquillity, to act such a Part as may best contribute to avert the imminent Dangers that may threaten them.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I have ordered Estimates to be prepared, and laid before you, for the Service of the ensuing Year. It is always with Regret that I ask any extraordinary Aids of my People: But what I have already mentioned must be sufficient to satisfy you, that some Augmentations will be necessary, not only for carrying on the present War with Vigour, but also to put ourselves in a Condition of being prepared for such Events as may arise in this new and uncertain State of *Europe*. I therefore depend on your experienced Zeal and Affection for me and my Government, your Concern for your own Safety, and the Support of the common Cause, to grant me such effectual Supplies as may be requisite for these great Ends.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The Scarcity of Corn, which has happened in many Countries of *Europe*, has induced several Powers to make extraordinary Provisions to obviate the ill Effects of that Misfortune; and though in many Parts of this Kingdom, the Harvest has proved more favourable, yet common Prudence calls upon us to provide as far as may be against the Approach of such a Calamity. Besides, in our present Circumstances, it would be an inexcusable Neglect to suffer our Enemies to be supplied with any Kind of Provisions from my Dominions, and that even at the Hazard of my own Subjects being distressed. Let me therefore earnestly recommend it to you to consider of some good Law to prevent this growing Mischief.

The Difficulties which have been found in manning the Fleet by the usual Methods hitherto practised, demonstrate the Want of some Parliamentary Remedy: I must therefore press it upon you to lose no Time in making such Provisions in this Respect, as, whilst we are engaged in a War in Defence of the Commerce and Navigation of this Kingdom, may enable the Publick to avail itself of those great Numbers of Seamen, which make so valuable a Branch of our Strength.

The Importance of these Considerations is so apparent, that I need use no Arguments to convince you of the Necessity of the utmost Unanimity and Dispatch in your Proceedings.

Whitehall, Nov. 18. A Letter from Capt. Mitchell, Commander of his Majesty's Ship the *Buckingham*, dated at *Spithead* the 16th Instant, gives the following Account: Sir Chaloner Ogle was on Friday the 31st of *October* 70 Leagues to the Westward of the *Start*, in Lat. 47. 54. having had a good Passage down the Channel with a Northerly Wind. That Night it came to the Westward, and blew hard, with a great Sea, but back'd again to the Northward in the Morning, at which Time we could plainly make the *Superb* to have lost all her Masts except her Bowspit. It blew hard all that Day and the next Night; the Fleet lay to with their Heads to the Westward; our Ship labouring very much, hove away her Foretopmast, and on Sunday Morning we found the Mainmast to be sprung, which we lost soon after, at which Time the Admiral made Sail to the Westward. We lost Sight of all the Fleet that Afternoon. After having consider'd the Distance of our Rendezvous, and the Condition of the Ship, Capt. Mitchell thought it proper to return with her to *England*. From the Time we lost Sight of the Fleet, we had the Wind to the 9th Instant between the North and East, and since between the North and West; so that if the Fleet have had the same Winds, they must be got well to the Southward.

WEDNESDAY, 19.

The humble Address of the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled, was this Day presented to his Majesty, and is as follows.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled, beg Leave to return your Majesty our humble Thanks for your most gracious Speech from the Throne.

The Resolution which your Majesty is pleased to express, for carrying on this just and necessary War, in the most proper Places, and in the most vigorous and effectual Manner, is so agreeable to your Royal Wisdom, as well as to the united Desires of your People, that it fills our Hearts with the most grateful Sentiments. As the *West-Indies* has been the Scene of the most outrageous Depredations and Violences, committed by the *Spaniards* upon your Majesty's Subjects; we hope and trust, that by the Blessing of God on your Majesty's Councils and Arms, this Nation will, in those Parts more especially, obtain that just Satisfaction for past Injuries, and effectual Security for their Navigation and Commerce for the future, which have hitherto been refused, contrary to the Faith of the most solemn Treaties.

We must ever acknowledge it, amongst the many Instances of your Majesty's Firmness, and true Greatness of Mind, that you have not suffered any Incidents whatsoever, to divert

divert or deter you from these Measures: And we doubt not but your Enemies will soon be convinced, that the Security of your Majesty's Government at home, must be strengthened in the Affections and Support of your People; whilst your Squadrons are sent to distant Parts of the World, as well for maintaining their undoubted Rights and Interests, as the Honour of your Imperial Crown.

Under this deep Sense of our Obligations to your Majesty, permit us to offer at your Royal Feet the strongest Assurances, that if any other Power should attempt to prescribe or limit the Operations of the War against your declared Enemies; such an extraordinary Proceeding would not fail to create in us the highest and most becoming Indignation, and to determine us to concur in all proper Measures, for vindicating and defending your Majesty's Dignity and Honour against any Insults, and for frustrating any Designs formed against us.

We are truly sensible, that the Death of the late Emperor is an Event, which calls for the vigilant Attention of all those who sincerely wish well to the common Safety and Tranquillity; and we beg Leave to assure your Majesty, that we will zealously stand by and support you, in adhering to the Engagements you are under, for maintaining the Balance and Liberties of Europe on that important Occasion, as well as in the vigorous Prosecution of the present War.

To repeat the unfeigned Professions, that we have so often made, of our unalterable Fidelity and Affection to your Majesty's sacred Person and Government, and our Zeal for the Continuance of the Protestant Succession in your Royal House, may seem unnecessary, when it is demonstrably our essential Interest, as well as our Duty, to persevere in these Principles. But we should be wanting to those warm Impressions, which we feel in ourselves, if we did not, in this Conjecture, declare to your Majesty, and the whole World, the fixed and unshaken Purpose of our Hearts, to defend and support this glorious Cause, at the Expence of our Blood and Treasure; and, at the same Time, express our sincere and ardent Wishes, that all your Enterprises, for maintaining the Honour of your Majesty's Crown, and the Rights of your People, may be blessed with the most prosperous Success.

His MAJESTY's most gracious Answer.

My Lords,

I Thank you for this most dutiful and affectionate Address. Nothing can be more agreeable to me, than the Zeal you express for the vigorous Prosecution of this just and necessary War, the Support of my Dignity and Honour, and the Preservation of the Balance and Liberties of Europe; all which I have entirely at Heart.

This Day there was a great Meeting of the

Liverymen of this City, at *Vintners-Hall*, to nominate four proper Persons for Candidates at the next General Election, of which Mr. Deputy *Nash* was chosen Chairman. Mr. *Chitty*, one of the Candidates at the last Election, proposed Sir *John Barnard* for one; upon which a Letter was produced by Mr. *Calvert*, directed to the Livery, returning them Thanks for the Honour they had done him, in returning him for three former Parliaments, and desiring they would excuse his serving them any longer than the present Session; notwithstanding which, the Question was insisted on, and seconded by Mr. *Glover*; and being put, was carry'd unanimously. After which, the following Aldermen were recommended, viz. the Right Hon. *Humphry Parsons*, Esq; Lord Mayor, *John Barber*, Esq; *Micajah Perry*, Esq; Sir *Robert Godscall*, *George Heatbroke*, Esq; and *Daniel Lambert*, Esq; and being severally put up, a very great Majority of Hands appear'd for the Lord Mayor, Sir *Robert Godscall* and *George Heatbroke*, Esq; who were accordingly declared, with Sir *John Barnard*, by the Chairman; and it was determined to support the Nomination of the said four Aldermen at the next Election. Of the other three Gentlemen who were recommended, *Daniel Lambert*, Esq; had a vast Majority.

THURSDAY, 20.

The Hon. House of Commons waited on his Majesty, with their Address of Thanks for his most gracious Speech from the Throne: To which his Majesty was pleased to return a most gracious Answer.

FRIDAY, 21.

Was held a Board of Admiralty, when their Lordships were pleased to appoint *Cornelius Mitchell*, late Captain of the *Buckingham*, who return'd back from Sir *Chaloner Ogle's* Fleet on account of the Damage his Ship receiv'd in the late Storm, to be Captain of the *Argyle*, a third Rate, who is immediately order'd to set out for the *West-Indies*.

MONDAY, 24.

Five of the condemn'd Malefactors were executed at *Tyburn*, viz. *William Dewell*, *Tho. Clack*, *William Meers*, *Margery Stanton*, and *Eleanor Mumpman*. *White* and *Hancock*, condemn'd in September Sessions, who were likewise to have suffered, were reprieved for a Week: And *Edward Maddler* and *Anne Howard*, condemn'd in October Sessions, were reprieved for Transportation.

Dewell, executed for the Rape and Murder, committed with several others on a poor Woman in a Barn at *Aston*, was brought to *Surgeons-Hall*; but after he was stripp'd and laid on the Board, and one of the Servants was washing him, to be cut up, he perceiv'd life in him, and found his Breath came quicker and quicker, on which a Surgeon bled him, and took several Ounces of Blood from him, and in about two Hours he came so much to himself

himself as to sit up in a Chair, groan'd very much, and seem'd in great Agitation, but could not speak. He was kept at *Surgeons-Hall* till 12 o'Clock at Night, the Sheriffs Officers (who were sent for on this extraordinary Occasion) attending; he was then convey'd to *Newgate*, to remain there till he be prov'd to be the very identical Person ordered for Execution the 24th Instant; the next Day he was in good Health in *Newgate*, eat his Victuals heartily, and ask'd for his Mother. Great Numbers of People resort continually to see him.

At a Board of Admiralty, their Lordships appointed Sir *William Hewet*, Bart. Captain of the *Colchester*, of 40 Guns; and the brave Captain *Peddie*, Captain of the *Basilisk* Bomb Ketch, in his Room. The Presents made to this Gentleman, since the Loss of his Ship in the late Storm, and the Profits of the Play acted for his Benefit, are said to amount to upwards of 1000*l*.

MARRIAGES and BIRTHS.

ANTHONY Marley, Esq; eldest Son to the Right Hon. the Lord Chief Baron Marley in Ireland, to Miss *Usher*.

Mr. *George Savage*, an eminent Linen-Draper near *Smithfield Bars*, to Miss *Forcer*, only Daughter of Mr. *Forcer* of *Sadler's Wells*.

Mr. *Sayer*, an eminent Soap-Boiler, to Mrs. *Savage*, Relict of Mr. *Savage*, Chinaman, in *Ludgate-street*.

Sir *John Barker*, of *Sproughton* in *Suffolk*, Bart. to Miss *Alice Fytch*, of *Eltbam* in *Kent*, Daughter of Sir *Comport Fytch*, Bart. a 30,000*l*. Fortune.

— *Chowne*, Esq; of *Suffex*, to Miss *Tilson*, third Daughter of the late *George Tilson*, Esq; of *Petty-France*, *Westminster*.

Dr. *Reeves*, one of the Physicians of *St. Thomas's Hospital*, to Miss *Gilbert*.

Sir *Edward Mansell*, of *Trimsaran* in *Carmarthenshire*, Bart. to Miss *Bayly*.

Mr. *Thomas Bayly*, to Miss *Langdon*, Niece to Sir *Edward Mansell*.

Thomas Powys, Esq; of *Lilford* in *Northamptonshire*, to Miss *Henrietta Spence*, only Child of *Thomas Spence*, Esq; late Serjeant to the House of Commons, a 30,000*l*. Fortune.

Mr. *Palmer*, an eminent *West-India* Merchant in *Aldermanbury*, to Miss *Tibbalds* of *Surrey-street*.

Sir *James Stanley*, of *Alderley* in *Cheshire*, Bart. to Miss *Frances Butler*, a near Relation to the late Duke of *Ormond*.

Countess of *Orrery* deliver'd of a Daughter.

Lady of the Lord *Windsor* and Viscount *Montjoy*, of a Son.

DEATHS.

SIR *George Cook*, Knt. at his Chambers in the *Temple*.—Rev. Mr. *Samuel Ganning*, Minister of *St. Peter of Mancroft* Parish in *Norwich*.—Capt. *Hamilton*, at *Lewford* in

Scotland, who was in the Battle of *Batwell-Bridge*, and had the Misfortune to lose one of his Legs.—*Michael Seeres*, Esq; at his Seat at *Tring-Grove* in *Hertfordshire*.—Mr. *Stokes*, one of the City Marshals, who purchas'd that Place a few Months since for 1800*l*. two Thirds of which goes to the Lord Mayor.—Rev. Mr. *Leigh*, at *Nantwich* in *Cheshire*, a young Gentleman of a worthy Family in that County, just return'd thither from his Studies at the University.—Mr. *Abraham Offgod*, Deliverer of the Votes, Cases in Parliament, &c. at the H. of Commons.—*Mark Anthony*, Esq; at his Seat at *Sbernbrook* in *Bedfordshire*.—Lady *Anne Mackenzie*, Wife to the Lord *Murkle*, in *Scotland*.—Rt. Hon. the Countess of *Skelbourne*.—*John Affley*, Esq; one of his Majesty's Gentlemen-Ushers.—Rt. Hon. Sir *John Comyns*, Knt. Lord Chief Baron of the *Exchequer*.—*Isaac Honeywood*, Esq; at his House in *Hampstead*, Father of Mr. *Honeywood*, Banker in *Lombard-street*, who it's reckon'd gets above 40,000*l*. by his Death.—Rt. Hon. *James Earl of Castlehaven* in *Ireland*, and *Baron Audley* in *England*: He died at *Paris*, and is succeeded in Dignity and Estate by his eldest Son the Lord *Touchet*, now Earl of *Castlehaven*, &c.—*Richard Levett*, Esq; Alderman of *Aldersgate-Ward*.—Sir *Andrew Aylmer*, Bart. in *Ireland*.—Mrs. *Agnes Dopping*, Aunt to the Rt. Hon. the Countess of *Orrery*.—Mrs. *Nezil*, a Widow Lady, nearly related to the Lord *Abergavenny*.—Miss *Stapylton*, eldest Sister of Sir *Miles Stapylton*, Bart. Knight of the Shire for the County of *York*.—*Genervl Pierce*, of the Island of *Barbadoes*. He died in *September* last.—*Charles Caesar*, Esq; at his House at *Tottenham High-Cross*.—*Charles Vanbrugh*, Esq; at his House on *Blackheath*. He was Brother of the late Sir *John Vanbrugh*, and one of the oldest Captains in the Navy; also Memb. of Parl. for *Plymouth*.—*Gregory Westcombe*, Esq; one of the Gentlemen of his Majesty's Hon. Band of Pensioners.

Ecclesiastical PREFERMENTS.

MR. *Manlove* chosen upper Minister of *St. Peter* of *Mancroft* Parish in *Norwich*, in the Room of Mr. *Ganning*, deceas'd; and Dr. *Francis* chosen in the Room of Mr. *Manlove*.—Mr. *Barclay* instituted into the Living of *Earsbam* in *Norfolk*, void by the Death of the foresaid Mr. *Ganning*.—His Majesty's Conge d'Elire was issued to the Archdeacon and Chapter of *Landaff*, for chusing Dr. *John Gilbert* Bishop of that See, in the Room of Dr. *Mawson*, translated to *Chichester*.—Mr. *Negus* chosen Lecturer of *St. Michael Royal* on *College-Hill*.—Mr. *Tindal*, Translator of *Rapin's History of England*, collated by the Bishop of *Winchester* to the Rectory of *Alverstock* in *Hampshire*, worth 400*l*. per Ann.—*Henry Rooks*, M. A. presented to the Rectory of *Hadstock* in *Essex*.—Mr. *Henry Thomson*, to

the Vicarage of *Lynta-Magna* in *Lincolnshire*.—*Mr. Griffith Orton*, to the Vicarage of *Llawibangel-Lannelon*, alias *Nantmelan*, in *Radnorshire*.—*Tbo. Riding*, A. M. collated by the Bishop of *Winchester* to the Rectory of *Wanstun* in *Hants*, worth between 4 and 500*l.* a Year.—*Mr. Ogle* of *St. Peter's Cambridge*, presented by the Master and Fellows to the Rectory of *Norton* in *Suffolk*.

PROMOTIONS Civil and Military.

HON. — *Bertie*, Esq; a near Relation of the Duke of *Ancafter*, appointed one of the Gentlemen of his Majesty's Privy Chamber.—*John Murray*, Esq; made a Lieutenant in the Royal Reg. of Horse-Guards, *Buz*.—*Richard Lord Onslow*, made Lord Lieutenant, and Custos Rotulorum of the County of *Surry*, in the Room of his Father, deceased.—*George Stone*, Esq; made Receiver-General of the Revenue of the Post-Office, in the Room of *Denzil Onslow*, Esq;—The Worshipful *Edward Simpson*, L. L. D. Master of *Trinity-Hall*, chosen Vice-chancellor of *Cambridge*.—*Rev. Dr. Shaw*, Fellow of *Queen's College, Oxford*, elected Principal of *Edmund-Hall* in that University.—*Mr. Henry Allen*, a Wine-Cooper in *St. Martin's-Lane*, chosen Warden of *Dukwick College*. The Person in this Office must be of the Name of *Allen*, according to the Will of the Donor, and 8 Candidates of that Name now offer'd themselves.—His Majesty disposed of the 3 vacant Regiments of Foot to the following Gentlemen, viz. the Hon. Colonel *Cholmondeley*, Hon. Colonel *Pawlet*, Hon. Colonel *Mordaunt*; and the late Colonel *Dolloway's* Regiment of Dragoons to Lord *James Cavendish*.—*Augustin Earle*, Esq; made a Commissioner of Excise, in the Room of *Thomas Wyde*, Esq; deceased.—*Mr. Justice Probyn* made Lord Chief Baron, in the Room of Lord Chief Baron *Comyns*, deceased.—*Mr. Baron Wright* made one of the Judges of the King's Bench, in the Room of *Mr. Justice Probyn*.—*Sir Thomas Abney* made one of the Barons of the Exchequer, in the Room of *Mr. Baron Wright*.—*Robert Fenwick*, Esq; Solicitor Gen. of the Duchy Court of *Lancaster*, made Attorney Gen. at the said Court, in the Room of *Sir Thomas Abney*.

New Members.

Sir Boteler Obernock, Bart. for the Town of *Bedford*.—*Denzil Onslow*, Esq; for *Guildford*.—*John Frederick*, Esq; for *New Shoreham*.

PERSONS declar'd Bankrupts.

JOSEPH *Jekyll*, of *St. Andrew, Holborn*, Grocer.—*Edward Langford*, of the *Long-Walk*, near *Christ's-Hospital*, Mercer.—*John Wilson*, of *Baldwin's-Gardens*, Brewer.—*Stephen John Whitaker*, late of the Parish of *St. Mary le Bon*, Brick-maker.—*Edward Cleypole*, late of *Eastwinton*, in the County of *Rutland*;

Dealer and Salesman.—*Sarah King*, of *Reading*, in the County of *Berks*, Coffee-woman and Dealer in Wines.—*William Lockwood*, of *New Bartlett-street* in the Parish of *St. George, Hanover-square*, Taylor.—*James Elliott*, of *St. James, Clerkenwell*, Salesman and Dealer in Tobacco.—*Samuel Sandford*, late of *Kingston upon Hull*, Tobaccoist.—*Robert Alder*, of *St. James, Clerkenwell*, Brewer and Victualler.—*Tbo. Batebeler*, of *Bath*, Brewer.—*Edward Billingsley*, late of *Leaden hall-Street*, Merchant.—*John Burrows* the Elder, of *Bissiter*, in *Oxfordshire*, Mercer.—*Mary Kello*, of *Houndsditch*, Widow and Mercer.—*Thomas Hill*, now or late of *Abingdon, Berks*, Baker.—*Cornelius Connor*, of *Pall-Mall*, Vintner.—*Edmund Stephens*, now of *Birchin-lane*, Cutler.—*Cornelius Douwe*, late of *St. Anne's Westminster*, Linen-draper.—*Thomas Holloway*, of *Guildford*, Timber-Merchant.—*Benjamin Hunter*, of *Primrose-street*, without *Bishopsgate*, Carpenter.—*Matthew Allen*, late of *Piccadilly*, Farrier.—*George Brooke*, of *Norwich*, Worsted-weaver.—*Charles Salmon*, late of *Bull-Cross*, in the Parish of *Enfield*, Brewer.—*Charles Horper*, of *St. Leonard Shoreditch*, Haberdasher of Hats.—*Anne Hasbert*, of *Norwich*, Grocer.—*Thomas Milson*, late of *Bath*, Innholder.—*Thomas Farr* of *Bromsgrove*, Chapman.—*Robert Shepherd*, late of *St. Martin's in the Fields*, Baker.—*John Titcomb*, of the Parish of *Hackney*, Brewer.—*Prior Green*, of *Cheapside*, Brazier.

Abstract of the London WEEKLY BILL, from Oct. 21. to Nov. 25.

Christned	Males	644	} 1253
	Females	609	
Buried	Males	1123	} 2376
	Females	1253	
Died under 2 Years old			818
Between	2 and 5		165
	5	10	122
	10	20	65
	20	30	188
	30	40	228
	40	50	258
	50	60	189
	60	70	146
	70	80	159
	80	90	50
	90 and upwards		8
			2376

Hay 66 to 72s. a Load.

ADVI-

ADVICES from Spain say, that Admiral Haddock had on the 11th of September appeared with five Ships of his Squadron off of the Port of Carthagena, and had fired many Discharges against the small Fort upon the Mackerel Island; whereupon the Governor reinforced the Garrison of that Fort, and the Commanding Officer in it very briskly returned the English Fire; however, the English Admiral continued cannonading till Night, when he retired without meeting with any Success, which occasioned great Rejoicings at that Place. The same Advices say, that there have been great Rejoicings in Spain, upon raising the Siege of St. Augustine in Florida; and that his Catholick Majesty has made the Governor of that Fort a Brigadier of his Armies, in Consideration of his brave Defence. How these Projects were concerted, or how they failed of Success, we cannot account for; but it would be much better to make no Attempt, than to revive and cheer the Spirit of the Enemy by fruitless Attacks.

Upon the Death of the Emperor of Germany, as mentioned in our last, his eldest Daughter, Maria Theresa Walpurg (married to the Duke of Lorain and Tuscany) was the same Day proclaimed Queen of Hungary, and Bohemia, Princess of Transylvania, Arch-duchess of Austria, and universal Successor to all the hereditary Dominions of the House of Austria, in Pursuance of the Pragmatick Sanction made by the late Emperor, in the Year 1713, which was guarantied by Spain in 1725, by Great Britain, and soon after by the United Provinces in 1731, by the Diet of the Empire in 1732, and by France, Savoy, and Spain a second Time, in 1739. However, this Succession is disputed by the Elector of Bavaria, who founds his Pretension on the Will of Ferdinand I. who married his eldest Daughter to Bavaria, and by his Will, as the latter says, appointed, that if she should be alive at the Time when the Succession should become open, she should succeed to the two Kingdoms of Bohemia and Hungary, &c. in case there should be no Male Heirs left by any of the Emperor's three Brothers: But in the original Will preserved in the Archives at Vienna, this Clause happens to be very different; for the Condition, as therein expressed, is, in case there should be no lawful Heirs left by any of the three Brothers. In the mean time France has declared, that she will inviolably keep her Engagements with regard to the Pragmatick Sanction; and Saxony, Prussia, and Hanover, have declared, they will support it not only with their Interest, but their Troops: Yet Bavaria openly declares his Intention to dispute the Succession, and the Electors, Palatine, Cologne, and Triers, have entered into a League with him, to maintain (as they call it) the Peace of the Empire. This makes it probable, that France, notwithstanding her Decla-

ration, will interfere, either in the Succession, or in the Election of an Emperor, which the Elector of Mentz, as Arch-chancellor of the Empire, has fixed for the 16th of February, when a King of the Romans is to be chosen, who is afterwards to be declared Emperor. On this Occasion it is to be observed, that the House of Austria's having a Vote at the Election, depends upon their Right to Bohemia, so that the Arch-duchess's Vote will be disputed by Bavaria and his Friends, and of Consequence, it may probably come to be a disputed Election, which will be exceeding good Game for France; and if she does not pursue this Game, we may conclude, that the whole Bent of her present Politicks is singly upon the Ruin of this Nation. If this be the Case, a War upon the Continent would be the best News we could hear.

What must greatly contribute to the Success of France, let her present Views be what they will, is the Death of the Czarina, who died at Petersburg the 17th of last Month, O. S. Before her Death she made her Will, by which she named the young Prince Ivan, or John, Son of Duke Anthony Ulrick of Brunswick, by the Princess Anne of Mecklenbourg, her Successor in the Throne; and appointed the Duke of Courland to be Regent till the young Prince, who was then but 3 Months old, comes to be 17 Years of Age.

The deceased Czarina, Anne Ivanowna, was the Daughter of Ivan or John Alexowits, elder Brother of the Czar Peter I. call'd Peter the Great, and for a Time Associate with him on the Imperial Throne; but he died in May 1696, whereas Peter the Great reign'd till the 8th of Feb. 1725. She was born the 28th of May, 1693, and marry'd the 13th of Feb. 1710, to Frederick William, Duke of Courland (Nephew to the late King of Prussia) who dy'd in Jan. 1711, in the 19th Year of his Age, as he was returning with his then lovely Princess from Petersburg to his own Country. She was proclaimed Empress on the 29th of Jan. 1730, upon the Death of Peter II. her Cousin, and Grandson to Peter the Great, when he was on the Point of being marry'd to the Princess Catherine Dolgorucki, Niece to the Velt-Marshal of that Name. The Friends of Princess Elizabeth, Daughter to Peter I. thought it very hard that she should be set aside, to make Room for another Princess, who was not so near the Throne; but as the Succession of that Empire varies from the Rules observed elsewhere, the Event was not so unexpected.

The late Empress having convers'd much with Foreigners, and understanding their Languages, she protected the Strangers that were invited to Russia by Peter I. favour'd the Arts and Sciences that then began to flourish there; and, in short, govern'd according to the Maxims observ'd and recommended by that truly great Monarch.

HISTORICAL.

- * 1. **T**HE History of the Revolutions in Rome. By Mr. Ozell. The 5th Edition. In 2 Vols. 8vo, price 10s. 6d.
- * 2. The History of the *Bucaniers* in America. The 4th Edition. In 2 Vols. pr. 6s.
3. The Life of *Pierce Gavestane*, Earl of Cornwall. Printed for G. Bickham, pr. 1s.

MISCELLANEOUS.

4. *Pamela*: Or, Virtue rewarded. In 2 Vols. Printed for C. Rivington and J. Osborne, price 6s.
5. Seven Conferences on Painting. Printed for T. Cooper, pr. 4s.
6. A new Description of *Merryland*. Sold by S. Dodd, pr. 1s. 6d.
7. A Treatise concerning the Malignant Fever in *Barbadoes*, &c. By H. Warren, M. D. Printed for F. Gyles, pr. 1s.
8. The concise practical Measurer. By *Tho. Miles*. Printed for Mess. Ward and Chandler, pr. 1s. 6d.
9. *Hermanni Boerhaave Prælectio Publica de Calculo*. Impensis G. Innoys & J. Osborne, price 1s.
10. The principal Causes of some late Divisions in dissenting Congregations. By H. Moore. Printed for R. Hett, pr. 6d.
11. *Quinti Horatii Flacci Opera*. Ad fidem Editionis alterius *Cantabrigienfis* castigata. Beautifully printed on a superfine Writing-Paper, in a neat Pocket Volume, for S. Birt, T. Apley, S. Austin, A. Millar, and R. Manby, pr. 2s. 6d.
12. *Maximi Tyrii Dissertationes Gr. & Lat. ex Recensione J. Davissii*, &c. Editio altera. Sold by C. Rivington and J. Osborne, 4to, pr. 14s. in Sheets.
13. The Unfortunate Princess. By Mrs. Haywood. Printed for T. Wright, pr. 2s. bound.
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